

A cry for justice

By Bernard Wid

the morning
of S

THE 'PRP' -



Growth Intertwined: Park

President Park Chung Hee yesterday said that economic growth can be pursued and national development achieved only when the nation

is safeguarded from Communist threats. The Chief Executive said that Communist infiltration can be blocked when the nation's economy attains development.

President Park made remarks at the economic conference at the

Exports Total \$1.5 Billion Ford's

WASHINGTON (UPI) — Ford's recent official statement that South Korea has been in complete support of the military regime of Park Chung Hee, an expelled military officer, appeared in a

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Anti-state conspiracy

Urge Park to Invoke Power

Legislators of the

K.U. Campus Quiet

After Troops Enter

Some 400 students were on the campus at the time when the troops moved in and they left the school through a rear gate.

Police arrested about 20 students who sang the national anthem outside the rear gate. They took seven others in connection with the demonstration.

University students gave a demonstration for the day.

They were arrested after the demonstration.

They were arrested after the demonstration.

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They were arrested after the demonstration.

They were arrested after the demonstration.

They were arrested after the demonstration.

Related Story on Page 8

without a court writ in dealing with any one who violates the provisions of the emergency step.

2 Clergymen

Arrested for

Embezzlement

Seoul police Monday arrested two clergymen on charge of embezzlement of some 15 million won from the National Council of Churches (NCC).

The two clergymen are Park Hyon-kyu, 51, chairman of the NCC's Metropolitan

Commission, and Cho Sung-hyock, director of general affairs of the NCC's Ecumenical Missionary Committee.

They were arrested after the demonstration.

They were arrested after the demonstration.

They were arrested after the demonstration.

They were arrested after the demonstration.

They were arrested after the demonstration.

They were arrested after the demonstration.

They were arrested after the demonstration.

8 Masterminds of PRP

Hanged in Seoul Prison

Antistate Conspiracy

U.S. Policy

Korea

Policy

Korea

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CONTENTS

2	introduction: the "external threat" threat
6	freedom: "it is prohibited" in south korea
10	emergency! stop the students!
14	the panic of park chung hee
17	edging towards disorder
18	park's gov't speaks: the national democratic youth + student federation + the "PRP"
26	political repression in south korea: report of commission for amnesty international
31	ford comes a-callin': i'll scratch your back...
34	the repression lingers on
36	what ogle knew
42	a missionary's last sermon
46	the dong-a ilbo and the "blanket release"
50	appeal for justice by the relatives
52	the wives speak
57	results of an investigation of the PRP
67	president hints crackdown: agitators must stop cries to free PRP
69	dialogue in the prison yard: Kim chi ha + ha chae wan
71	sounds of anguish in park's courtroom
72	eight hanged in seoul
73	rok christians brace against gov't attacks

"The 'PRP'—state conspiracy" was edited by Elaine Pearce and Lynn Miles of the Cry of the People Committee, P.O. Box 37, Ashiya, Hyogo, Japan 659. After paying off printing, production and mailing costs, all proceeds will go to the destitute "PRP" families so as to help with living expenses and unpaid legal fees. All contributions will be greatly appreciated. Cheques should be made out to "Cry of the People Committee," and all donations will be forwarded to the families promptly.

May, 1975

SOME SOURCES

WITHOUT PARALLEL: The American-Korean Relationship Since 1945. New York, Pantheon, 1974; paper \$3.95. Edited by Frank Baldwin, this book demands reading. Seven excellent studies, covering the U.S.-formulated post-World War II roots of the predicament, the Korean War, the Syngman Rhee dictatorship, and an overview of "Democracy in South Korea, 1948-72." Also includes a very insightful study of "The Plight of the South Korean Peasant" by Bernie Wideman. Chronology. If you read nothing else, read this.

CRY OF THE PEOPLE AND OTHER POEMS (Tokyo, Autumn Press, 1974; paper \$2.95). The best and most famous works of Kim Chi Ha, including "Five Bandits" and "Groundless Rumors," the poems which won him two of his four prison terms. Read & understand why/how the people of Korea are suffering today, how U.S. aid subsidizes fat generals' leisurely days on the golf course while peasants' daughters are forced onto the "yellow road to Seoul" to eke out their livelihood as prostitutes. Truth to power, imagination and imagery, honesty and fearlessness. Also an excellent, readable introduction by globe-trotting peace-activist Nicola Geiger.

FAR EASTERN ECONOMIC REVIEW (GPO Box 47, Hong Kong. Weekly, USA \$45 by air, \$25 surface.) Liberal, originally intended for the business community in Asia, but, in spite of itself, delivers a wealth of very insightful materials on social and political problems, movements and trends. Reports on Korea nearly every week by correspondent Roy Whang, every where the action is. Expensive, but worth it.

KOREA LINK, a bi-monthly by the "Committee for the Support of Human Rights in South Korea," sister organization of our "Cry of the People Committee" here in Japan. P.O. Box 1001, Palo Alto, CA 94302. First issue came out in March. The basic, indispensable information is all there, along with recommended actions that, if taken, may help to turn U.S. policy around, prevent another Vietnam, and allow the Koreans to manage their own affairs unmolested. There's a lot of work to be done and KOREA LINK has us pointed in the right direction.

KOREA BULLETIN, monthly newsletter by the "Committee for Solidarity with the Korean People," P.O. Box 1952, San Francisco, CA 94101. \$2 per year. Reports on both North and South Korea. Chronology gives monthly repression toll. Good basic source, quick in getting it out.

THE VOICE OF THE PEOPLE, edited by Channing Liem, 252 Old Kingston Rd, New Paltz, NY 12561. In Korean and English. Write for sample copy.

KOREA NEWSLETTER, published by "the Korean Resistance" in Japan, c/o The National Times, 3-6-8 Kanda Ogawacho, Chiyoda-ku, Tokyo. True to its name, gives you a line on what the "resistance" is about, who is resisting and how. It's the only source for many translations.

MATCHBOX, by Amnesty International-USA, 3618 Sacramento St., San Francisco, CA 94118. Concerned with plight of political prisoners around the globe. The latest issue has material on Korean prisoners.

RONIN has grown in three years from an 8-page hunt-and-peck paste-up to, 15 issues later, a 130-page catalog of imperial iniquities. It's gone through lots of changes (price, format, graphic design, etc.) but its editorial policy remains the same: to let Asians speak for themselves. Most recent issue has over 20 pages on Korea. "Ronin publishes when it has enough money to do so." P.O. Box 91, Nishijin, Kyoto, Japan.

the "external threat" threat

Charged with conspiring to lead a spring 1974 student uprising aimed at the overthrow of the Park Chung Hee government, members of what the government prosecutor alleged was a clandestine North-directed spy ring — the "People's Revolutionary Party" — were arrested by the dread Korean CIA at the end of April, confined, and tortured into confessing their guilt. Less than a year later, eight of them would be dead by hanging in the cold execution cell of Sodaemoon — but not without first having stirred up a controversy unparalleled among south Korea's many postwar "spy" cases. Months before their cases ever reached the Supreme Court, doubts began to be voiced as to who they really were, what their real crime was, and what the true interests and motivations of the government was. Why was it trying them in secret? Why was it compelled to bring their conviction, not on the basis of hard evidence (of which there was little or none anyway), but relying entirely on their "confessions" which, it was alleged, had been tortured out of them?

We, the editors of this booklet, believe that the many inconsistencies in the government story, the sweeping claims and hysterical play given the case by the government-controlled press with nary a nod to the factual evidence which the CIA claimed that it had necessary to convict the alleged "PRP" defendants, the utter disregard of the basic human rights of these men and of the rudimentary principles of judicial processes, the doctoring of court records by the prosecutor (in collusion with the Park-appointed military judge), the torturing of the defendants and intimidation of the wives and families, and the way in which outside attempts at conducting an independent, objective inquiry into the facts of the case (such as by Amnesty International), all lend credence to charges by opposition and church leaders in south Korea that the "PRP" defendants were pawns in a larger political game and that the case was totally without basis, being no more than a government fabrication meant to support its contention that the students who had fallen prey to "impure elements" were under the influence or direction of the Pyongyang regime in the North. In other words, the PRP was to serve the Park regime in 1974 just as the Sacco and Vanzetti case was to serve the "Red Scare" in the United States in the 1930s.

On October 2nd, 1973, 400 students of Seoul National University held a two-hour demonstration on campus in the first open resistance to

the Park government since Park declared martial law a year before (the institution of martial law, which gave Park unprecedented powers to put the lid on dissent by calling out the Army, was itself a response to student demonstrations against his dictatorship in the spring of '72.) In a rally that lasted for over two hours, they demanded that Park restore civil rights, abolish the hated Korean CIA, and give the true facts behind the abduction of opposition Kim Dae Jung from his hotel room in Tokyo to Seoul in August 1973. Student unrest spread, so that by the middle of November hardly a day passed when one Seoul campus or other did not see struggle: students battling the police or army, stone-throwing, gassing, clubbings and arrest. Doubtless mindful of history's ominous lesson (Park's predecessor, the dictator Syngman Rhee, was toppled by student demonstrations in April 1960), Park directed that "due to the fuel shortage" universities would go into recess prematurely for the duration of the winter.

The question on everyone's mind then became: With all that extra time on their hands, what might the students have in store for the following April, when the universities would once again reopen? One correspondent, thought that the answer to that question was a foregone conclusion and that, rather, the question should have been one of: What did Park have in store? "While placation of the regime's opponents will be achieved [by a cabinet reshuffle on December 3rd, whereby the despised head of the KCIA, Lee Hu Rak, was replaced by Shin Chik Su], at least for the time being (and especially if the CIA retracts its claws during the winter period), Park's government might have to reassert its authority again in the spring when the students return to the campuses. By then, however, the President might have something else up his sleeve — perhaps the old 'external threat' trick." (Tony Patrick, "A Winter of Appeasement," Far Eastern Economic Review, December 10, 1973.)

The "external threat trick" had seen frequent service as far back as 1964 when the KCIA manufactured the case of the "People's Revolutionary Party" to "establish a link" between the regime in the North and the students who were in heated street battles in opposition against closer economic ties with Japan; and as recently as late October 1973, when it was announced that a Professor Tche of the Law School of Seoul National University, arrested earlier in the month for supporting the student demonstrations, had "committed suicide" at the torture/interrogation center at the KCIA's Namsan headquarters, "after confessing to being a North Korean agent." The tragedy caused an uproar among students, who, pointing out that the alleged "leap from the third floor window" would have been difficult from the interrogation room, which had no windows, accused the government of having murdered him through an overdose, perhaps inadvertent, of torture. His body was not returned to his wife (sacrilege in Korea). And some students, subsequently released from Namsan, told of tortures in the middle of the night and Professor Tche's screams: "Oh, kill me, kill me!" "Whether, as is widely reported, the KCIA had intended to put a damper on the demonstrations by uncovering another 'spy ring,' or whether something else was involved, the case seems to mark a watershed for a lot of students. As one put it: 'I used to believe it when I read in the newspaper about spies. But if they can claim that a man like Tche is a spy, I'll never be able to believe them

again.'" (Frank Gould, "The Student Spring," FEER, December 24, 1973.)

For the nonce, the "spy scare" had to be abandoned. For want of a body, for want of a "confession," and for want of a showcase trial whereby the courts could be called upon to review and pass upon the "evidence," the "external threat" had to be sent back to the KCIA strategists for a rewrite of the scenario. The next time around the KCIA would not be so easily cheated. The next time around they would choose as victims those less closely connected to the students, those without any links to the organized opposition, those so isolated from the politically aware segments of society that they couldn't count on anyone to take up their defense when their rights got trampled on.

The "next time was not long in coming. As expected, the students had not been sitting idle during the long winter. When schools reopened in April, they again took to campaigning on the campuses and staging sit-ins in the streets. April 3rd saw student strikes at prestigious universities in Seoul, Taegu and elsewhere throughout the southern half of the peninsula. Park was quick to respond, calling an extraordinary cabinet meeting that same afternoon and, that evening, decreeing his fourth Emergency Measure in as many months, effective from that night (the first two, decreed in January, (1) made criticism of the Yushin Constitution illegal, and (2) instituted special military courts for the hearing of cases of those charged with violating EM-1, and, later, EM-4. EM-3 dealt with economic "reforms.") Not only did this fourth Measure make such acts as demonstrating, leafleting, boycotting classes, hiding a student activist, not reporting a student activist, etc., punishable by "death, life imprisonment or imprisonment for not less than five years," the same stiff penalties could be applied to anyone who "defames this measure" or who communicated the fact of another's violation of the act "through reporting or publishing or by any other means." (Emphasis added.) -Which is to say that if Student A were to skip classes in protest against the dictatorship, and Journalist B were to report that fact, justice would be done and the both of them could have been hung for it. And, if Chicken-farmer C were to "defame" the Measure by saying to his/her friend that Journalist B got something more than "justice," s/he too could have won a trip to the gallows.

For measures this sweeping, justification was needed; laws like these called for a "crisis" or an "emergency." Dictator though he is, if Park Chung Hee was to start hauling in students without warrants, treat them to some third-degree interrogation, then deal out a quick dose of judicial medicine in specially decreed military courts (closed to the public, of course, which might grow overly sentimental at the denial of the most elementary rudiments of judicial process, such as the right of defense to call witnesses, etc.), and hand out sentences that began at five years' imprisonment - if he was going to do all these things only to put an end to such "crimes" as skipping classes, he had first to show compelling reason and demonstrate that "extreme" measures were appropriate to the occasion. The days of divine right being over and Korea now being a democracy ("Korean-style democracy," his ministers called it, or "tailored democracy"), the state was now founded on law, and the law on reason.

When EM-4 was announced, all that the government could say about the "emergency" incurred by the student demonstrations was that they were communist-inspired. Though several hundred students were arrested in response to the rash of strikes, boycotts and demonstrations that broke out on April 3rd, and though the strikes still showed no signs of abating (in spite of the fact that by late April the toll of arrested and detained students had already exceeded 1000), the regime was finally moved to trot out its latest version of the "external threat." It was then that the "People's Revolutionary Party," after a decade of apparently quiescent inactivity, made its 1974 debut. It was announced that an underground network of communist cells had infiltrated the student movement and were now directing it, with the aim of overthrowing the Park government and establishing a "proletarian communist government." At a press conference which lasted for two hours on the morning of the 25th April, the head of the KCIA, Shin Chik Su, described with great fanfare, display of "captured documents," etc., an elaborate plot which embraced not only the leadership of the demonstrating students, but the "PRP core leadership", two Japanese students, and the pro-North Federation of Korean Residents in Japan (Chochongryon). (An interesting sidelight of the "investigation" here is that on the 27th, according to evidence provided by the CIA later in court, one of the defendants accused of being among the top leaders was shown, through submission of purchase receipts, etc., to have bought a radio at a time when any sane person, were s/he guilty of charges of this gravity, should have been fleeing for her/his life! The prosecution later submitted both the radio and the receipts to "prove" that he was a spy taking secret coded messages from Pyongyang.)

A month later, on May 27th, the Emergency Court-Martial prosecutor gave flesh and bones to the story by providing the names and photographs of the 54 defendants of the "subversive Democratic National Student Youth League," of which 21 defendants were alleged members of the "PRP." (Sometimes the number is given as 22 because Yo Chong Nam, though not charged with being a member of the "PRP" itself, was accused of serving as the "vital link" between the "PRP" and the NDYSF and was the only non-PRP person to have his death sentence upheld all the way to the gallows.)

Sentences of the 55 charged with violation of EM-4 were passed down by the General Emergency Court-Martial in three sessions held in mid-July. All 21 of the "PRP" defendants were found guilty on July 11th. Seven were sentenced to death, eight to life imprisonment with hard labor, and six to 20 years' imprisonment with hard labor. On July 12th the two Japanese were sentenced separately, getting 20 years. And on the 13th, the 32 NDYSF defendants were found guilty and sentenced to death (seven, including Yo Chong Nam), life imprisonment (seven), 20 years (twelve) and 15 years (six) hard labor. Fifty of the 55 immediately appealed. On September 7th the Appellate Emergency Court-Martial passed down sentence. Of the PRP cases, only four sentences were reduced; all eight death sentences were upheld. All of the accused then appealed again, this time to the Supreme Court, which, unlike the Emergency Courts, are under civilian control and open to outside observers.

Freedom: "It is prohibited" in South Korea

LAURA J. HENZE

On November 21, riot policemen removed about 20 South Korean women from the US Embassy complex in Seoul. The women were seeking US help in gaining release of their husbands and sons being held as political prisoners. The following day President Ford paid a visit of state to President Park Chung Hee. During the visit Ford pledged that the US would seek to fulfill the military modernization program, to the tune of \$1.5 billion, of South Korea's armed forces and that the US had no intention of withdrawing its troops (now at a level of 38,000) from the nation. He encouraged American business to invest in Korea and invited President Park to visit the United States.

There was widespread criticism of the Ford visit as condoning the South Korean government's repressive practices. 203 persons have received heavy sentences, some the death penalty, for such "crimes" as petitioning for revision of the Constitution or demonstrating or supporting demonstrations against the government. Seven South Koreans have been sentenced to death for being alleged members of a spy group the government claims is connected with the assassination attempt on President Park in August in which his wife was killed. Western intelligence sources doubt that the individuals charged were involved.

The current round of repression began about two years ago when, in October 1972, President Park declared a state of martial law and carried out extensive revisions of the Constitution. The political situation at this time was described in a Staff Report to the US Senate Committee on Foreign Relations:

With martial law in effect at the time of our visit, we found political life in Korea frozen. The Assembly had been dissolved, an action not provided for in the

constitution, and there were tanks (provided by the United States under the Military Assistance Program) in front of the National Assembly building, government ministries, newspaper offices and universities. Most of the universities—those with potentially active student bodies—were closed and the Korean CIA [KCIA] had, we were told, intensified its efforts to insure that the student body was neutralized, a task in which they were said to have become proficient through the use of bribes, intimidation and occasional arrests. The press was under strict censorship. Political parties had been dissolved. The KCIA was, we were told, omnipresent. (The KCIA is estimated to be an organization of 3,000 people. Considered to be the best intelligence service in Asia, it operates both internally and abroad—including in the United States. Its primary role is to keep the Korean population in line, and its power is virtually unchallenged in the Government.) Opposition politicians, most of whom were said to be under constant surveillance by the KCIA at the time of our visit, and journalists were lying low and were unwilling to see us despite extensive efforts by the Embassy to arrange appointments on our behalf. One experienced foreign observer, summarizing the situation, said that the repression of civil liberties was worse than at any time since the days of Syngman Rhee.

According to the same report, the declaration of martial law was used "as a means of insuring that there would be no resistance" to the planned alteration of the Constitution. This move was rationalized as necessary to prepare the nation for the dialog with North Korea on reunification. Just ten months earlier, President Park had declared a state of national emergency and urged the National Assembly to adopt the Law Concerning Special Measures for National Protection and Defense on the grounds that he needed "a power to make provisions beforehand for national protection and defense in order to curb war provocative actions of North Korea." This law, which gave President Park power to control by decree virtually all

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—Murray Rosenblith

elements of national life, was adopted under the unusual circumstances that the opposition members were not informed of the meeting, which was held out of the usual assembly hall and convened at 3:00 am.

Revision of the Constitution was carried out in accordance with Park's wishes. The document that emerged "constitutionalized" infringements of basic human rights, allocated greater powers to the President, further emasculated the National Assembly, and gave the Park government a license for repression. Fundamental individual rights in the nation—freedom of speech, press, assembly and association; freedom from arrest, detention, search, seizure, interrogation and punishment without warrant and due process; freedom of residence and occupation—are now specially qualified by the clause "except as provided by law."

The President is no longer elected through direct popular elections but by a National Conference for Unification, a 2,359 member body whose members may not be affiliated with any political party or hold other public office, and who must elect the President without conducting debate. The President is given a wide range of new powers, including the power to dissolve the National Assembly, and the presidential term of office was extended from four to six years while limitations on the number of terms one may serve was removed.

The National Assembly's powers to inspect ministries and demand documents have been eliminated, its composition was changed to include two-thirds directly elected members and one-third who would be nominated as a slate by the President and confirmed by the National Conference for Unification, and it may not meet for more than 90 days a year in regular session and 60 days in extraordinary session. In addition, Article 53 of the Constitution reads:

(1) When in time of natural calamity or a grave financial or economic crisis, and in case the national security or the public safety and order is seriously

Article 1. It shall be prohibited for any person to deny, oppose, misrepresent or defame the Constitution of the Republic of Korea.

Article 2. It shall be prohibited for any person to assert, introduce, propose or petition for revision or repeal of the Constitution of the Republic of Korea.

Article 3. It shall be prohibited for any person to fabricate or disseminate false rumors.

Emergency Measure No. 1 decreed on January 8, 1974.

threatened or anticipated to be threatened, making it necessary to take speedy measures, the President shall have power to take necessary emergency measures in the whole range of the State affairs, including internal affairs, foreign affairs, national defense, economic, financial and judicial affairs.

(2) In case of Paragraph (1), when the President deems it necessary, he shall have the power to take emergency measures which temporarily suspend the freedom and rights of the people as defined in the present Constitution and to enforce emergency measures with regard to the rights and power of the Executive and the Judiciary. . .

With the revisions accomplished, martial law was lifted and elections for the National Conference for Unification and National Assembly were held. President Park was reelected to the presidency receiving 2,357 affirmative votes. The other two were declared invalid. By the time the new National Assembly convened in March 1973, the Extraordinary State Council set up by Park during martial law had enacted a total of 271 laws.

Calls for restoration of democracy and basic rights and for revision of the questionable Constitution began to mount. In August, Kim Dae Jung, an opposition leader who ran against Park for the presidency in 1971 was kidnapped from his hotel room in Tokyo by KCIA agents. In December a number of noted scholars, politicians and religious leaders sent a letter to President Park recommending action to guarantee protection of Koreans' basic rights. They launched a petition drive calling for restoration of democracy and revision of the Constitution. In early January 1974, two respected members of the pro-government Democratic Republican Party resigned because of their "loss of freedom to express convictions as a party member," and they voiced legitimacy for the petition movement. Park responded the next day by issuing the first two of a series of four emergency measures designed to end all deviation from the government line.

Emergency Measure No. 1, decreed on January 8, 1974, proclaims:

Article 1. It shall be prohibited for any person to deny, oppose, misrepresent or defame the Constitution of the Republic of Korea.

Article 2. It shall be prohibited for any person to assert, introduce, propose or petition for revision or repeal of the Constitution of the Republic of Korea.

Article 3. It shall be prohibited for any person to fabricate or disseminate false rumors.

Violators of the provisions would be subject to arrest, detention, search or seizure without warrant, would be tried and sentenced by Emergency Courts-Martial and would be subject to imprisonment of up to 15 years. Emergency Measure No. 2 set up a system of Emergency Courts-Martial, each comprised of a majority of members from the armed forces, to try and adjudicate all crimes by any persons who violated any of the measures. In addition it empowered the Director of the KCIA to coordinate and supervise information, investigations and security for the cases under the jurisdiction of the Emergency Courts-Martial. Emergency Measure No. 3 was decreed later in the month concerning austerity economic matters.

Government prosecution of violations under the measures curbing political activity began immediately. Trial and sentencing of politicians, students, ministers and other figures in the opposition followed.

Anti-government demonstrations in the universities and elsewhere caused Park to issue his fourth and harshest Emergency Measure on April 3. The decree made "belonging to, supporting, or demonstrating with the National Federation of Democratic Youths and Students" a crime carrying sentences ranging from five years in prison to the death penalty. Participants in demonstrations of any shape or form would be subject to this decree, as well as anyone who gave financial support to any group voicing opposition to the government. All opposition to the Park regime's practices was effectively silenced for a time, as rounds of arrests and political trials continued throughout the spring, summer and fall.

Despite calls for the US to exert pressure on the Park regime to ease its repressive practices, the position of the Administration has been to follow a "hands-off" policy for Korea's internal affairs and to continue economic and military support for the Park regime for strategic and other reasons. In hearings before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations last summer Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger testified:

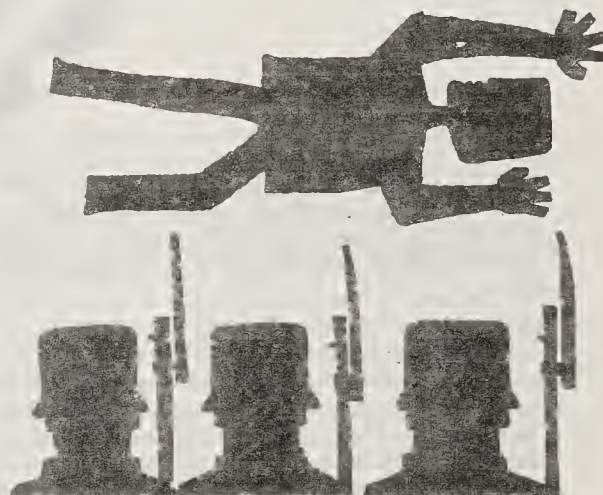
the stability and security of South Korea were crucial to the security of the East Asian area. . . This had led us to continue economic aid and military assistance when we would not have recommended many of the actions that were taken by the Government of South Korea.

To understand the full nature and implications of US involvement in South Korea's affairs it is necessary to go back to 1945 when Korea was "liberated" from its status as a Japanese colony upon the defeat of Japan in World War II. Immediately following the surrender of the Japanese an arrangement was made to draw a line along the 38th parallel in Korea to accept the surrender of Japanese troops. The US was to handle the surrender of the Japanese to the south of this line and the USSR to the north.

Attempts at reunification of the two sectors failed in 1945 and again in 1947; the US supported quasi-democratic, anti-communist units in the south, while

the USSR supported the establishment of a communist regime in the north. Immediately after the Japanese surrender in 1945 an interim government led by You Un-hyong, a leftist nationalist, set itself up in the south with considerable support from the intellectual sector. The United States refused to recognize this government and established a US Military Government south of the 38th parallel in September 1945, thus beginning the legacy of US strategic involvement and support in the South Korean nation.

Within the south there were increasingly bitter struggles for the power to be passed on to South Korean hands. There was a rise of crime and gang warfare, violent strikes, and political assassinations. A communist-inspired military uprising in 1948 in turn brought on a rightist purge of nearly every political and social institution in the nation, setting the course of things to come. Out of this fracas the south elected a National Assembly in 1948. A Constitution was drafted and Syngman Rhee was chosen first President of the Republic of Korea. The People's Republic of Korea was proclaimed in the north under Kim Il-Sung. Both the US and USSR provided defense weapons and aid for their new sectors of influence.



—LNS

The Korean War broke out in June 1950 and lasted until July 1953. The South Koreans placed all their armed forces under the operational control of the Commander of the United Nations Command who, in turn, was directly responsible to the US Joint Chiefs of Staff. The United States has continued to operate this operational control over the Republic of Korea armed forces to this day.

During the Korean War this small, relatively isolated country became the "defense bastion" of the Far East. South Korea's own forces had grown from 100,000 troops in 1950 to 650,000 in 1954 and there were large numbers of US and UN forces as well. During the 1953-61 period, more than 75% of Korea's imports were financed by aid, the US supplied about 40% of South Korea's military expenses and funded a good deal of the nation's non-defense budget.

President Rhee, meanwhile, ran a high-handed and autocratic regime. The regime derived its power from the military and police-bureaucratic nexus. These organizations, generally firmly within Rhee's control, were the only ones with nationwide effectiveness. Popular dissatisfaction grew; it was met with a tough National Security Law which Rhee's Liberal Party forced through the National Assembly in 1958. A period of heavy political repression ensued.

An outbreak of student riots in April 1960 brought about an end to the Rhee era. The demonstrations protested the blatantly rigged elections of the previous month in which Rhee was "reelected" to his fourth presidential term. The National Assembly voted to void the elections in late April and forced Rhee to resign. The Constitution was amended to institute a parliamentary form of government. Yun Po Sun was elected President of the Second Republic and Chang Myon was subsequently installed as the new Prime Minister.

The new government was destined to be short-lived. Chang's Democratic Party lacked cohesion among its members, the government was plagued by factional splits and other ills.

General Park Chung Hee, current President of the Republic of Korea, rose to power in a bloodless military coup on May 16, 1961. The coup was engineered by Kim Jong-Pil, Park's nephew, who has continued to play a commanding role in Korean politics—he organized the KCIA in 1961, under the military government's direction, and founded the pro-government Democratic Republican Party in 1962 (a year before political parties were legalized under the Park regime) also under Park's auspices. Kim, who has swung in and out of favor with different elements of Korea's military-dominated power structure, is currently Prime Minister and is seen as prime candidate for successor to Park should the need arise.

The military government's power was transmitted to a "civilian" government in 1963, after a fracas in which Park first declared he would not run for the presidency and then decreed a suspension of political activities and extension of military rule. In the face of considerable pressure from some of the military and from the United States Park reversed the declaration, said elections would be held and announced his candidacy for the presidency. He defeated Yun Po Sun, the former President, by a margin of under 200,000 votes. As might be expected, the establishment of civilian government did not end the influence of the military in Korean government. During the first five years of civilian rule, 40 out of 95 holders of cabinet posts had professional military backgrounds, 10 out of 11 directorships of independent regulatory commissions and 32 out of 59 ambassadorial posts were held by retired officers. Government corporations had a large proportion of ex-military leaders and about 20% of the National Assembly seats were held by retired officers.

The Korean CIA effectively controls the political life of the nation. Government critics, if amassing any support, are labelled as being in collusion with the North Korean government. If the government wishes to get rid of certain individuals, they are "connected" with a North Korean plot. Opposition to the government, if not directly communist-inspired, is seen as playing into the communists' hands by weakening the nation's "unity." These latter considerations were given as the basis for the emergency measures decreed earlier this year. When, under considerable international pressure, Park removed the first and fourth Emergency Decrees in August, he claimed that the death of his wife had highlighted the need for unity in the face of the communist threat and had united the South Korean people in sorrow.

Under the Park regime there has been a good deal of economic development. According to the govern-

ment South Korea's yearly economic growth rate, erratic during the 1950's and registering only 1.9% in 1960, averaged 8.3% yearly during the 1962-66 period and 11.6% yearly during 1967-71.

The first instances of direct foreign investment were in 1962 by two US firms. Direct foreign investment, which has registered its greatest growth since 1970, totalled \$650.2 million by the end of 1973. Profits remitted by foreign investors up to 1968 were small, reached \$5 million in 1969, \$8.3 million in 1970 and will rise much more rapidly as post-1970 investments mature. The Korean government has provided an attractive structure of financial incentives for foreign investors. Korea's Labor Standards Law provides that a minimum living standard must be guaranteed to workers but no minimum wage is concretely specified. In addition, the government promulgated a special law covering the workers of foreign-owned firms, to ensure that the labor force was adequately "docile." In industry, working conditions are reputed best in American-owned enterprises, less so in Japanese enterprises and the worst in domestic ones. Unsafe working conditions and sweat shops are widespread.

An important stimulus to the Korean economy was provided by the Vietnam War and the war boom. Under pressure from the US, Korea agreed to send 45,000 combat troops to Vietnam, a move hotly debated in the National Assembly. In return Korea accumulated almost one billion US dollars in earnings from Vietnam between 1966 and 1972.

From 1949 through fiscal year 1971, total US economic assistance to South Korea—in loans, grants, population grants and "food for peace"—was \$4.3 billion. During this same period the nation received \$5 billion in US military loans and grants. Sophisticated equipment and techniques in the economic sphere and in the military-intelligence-police sphere are another important dimension of US aid and involvement, as is the "influence" the US has wielded in the nation's economic and political policies.

The "strategic" importance of South Korea to the US, according to Defense Department testimony, lies in its proximity to the Peoples Republic of China, the Soviet Union and Japan, and in the nature of its military forces and facilities, which could serve as a "platform" of aggression against the Japanese and other US interests in Asia. Additional reasons for the continued US presence in South Korea, given in the Senate Staff Report referred to earlier, include "the emotional attachment arising from the loss of 33,000 American lives in the Korean War and the more practical considerations arising from the enormous US public and private investment in Korea.

The US does, indeed, have a large investment in the South Korean nation. The Republic of Korea and its government, dominated by the military, the police and the CIA, are to a large extent the product of this investment. Kim Dae Jung, the opposition leader kidnapped by the KCIA in Tokyo, recently told Western newsmen:

You should take the responsibility to prevent the use of your weapons to suppress the Korean people. When President Park proclaimed martial law and occupied the National Assembly, the press and the opposition party headquarters, he was using your tanks, your machine guns, your rifles. Now the police prevent demonstrations by using your weapons.

EMERGENCY!

STOP THE STUDENTS!

Korean Students Hold First Anti-Park Protest in Year

By RICHARD HALLORAN

Special to The New York Times

SEOUL, South Korea, Oct. 2

The first open resistance to the Government of President Park Chung Hee since he declared martial law a year ago erupted today in a small but vigorous student demonstration here.

About 400 students at Seoul National University, South Korea's most prominent university, demanded in a two-hour demonstration that President Park restore civil rights and dismantle the South Korean Central Intelligence Agency, a widely feared secret police.

The demonstrators further demanded that the people be given the truth about the abduction of Kim Dae Jung, Mr. Park's election opponent in 1971, from Tokyo to Seoul in August. The students chanted that they knew the C.I.A. had done it. The Government has steadfastly denied that any Government agents were involved, despite mounting evidence to the contrary gathered by the Japanese police.

About 500 uniformed and plainclothes policemen watched and exchanged insults with the students until ordered to break up the gathering.

How many students were injured by police clubbing and kicking could not be determined. But witnesses estimated that 150 students were arrested at the site of the demonstration and 50 others were dragged from classrooms, library study rooms and laboratories to which they had fled.

Students at Seoul National said their leaders had been in touch with those in other universities and more demonstrations might be planned.

The students said the demonstration had been organized by the university's student government, not by an underground organization. They also said the organizers had expected only 50 to 60 students to turn out for a rally that was to end quickly so that the students could disperse before being identified by the police.

STUDENT BOYCOTT SPREADS IN SEOUL

Growing Strikes Protesting Curbs on Freedoms

Special to The New York Times

SEOUL, South Korea, Nov. 9 — More university students joined today in a spreading boycott of classes to protest Government policies. The boycotts now affect eight colleges in the Seoul area.

The demonstrations began earlier this week, with students demanding an end to Government repression, the release of students under arrest for previous demonstrations and disbandment of the South Korean Central Intelligence Agency.

cy.

About 600 students of the College of Agriculture at Seoul National University began a strike this morning after a two-hour sit-in on their campus at Suwon, 20 miles south of Seoul.

They adopted a resolution demanding the Government guarantee freedom of speech and other rights and to release

At the university's dental college in Seoul, 200 students with similar demands resolved during an indoor rally to boycott classes until next weekend. Yesterday, 1,400 students at the School of Preparatory Studies went on a 10-day strike calling for an end to a "fascist rule," and earlier this week, students at four other colleges of Seoul National University began boycotts.

At Hankuk Theological Seminary, a private Presbyterian school just outside Seoul, 250 students went on a 10-day strike today, declaring that

"our religious conscience does not allow us to continue our studies under the present conditions."

Protest at Private School

At Korea University, a major private school here, students began a campaign to collect signatures on a petition for the release of 14 fellow students being tried on charges of subversive activities.

In another development today, Yang Il Dong, the head of the Democratic Unification party, a splinter opposition group, said that he was prevented by officials of the Korean Central Intelligence Agency from holding a news conference at his downtown party headquarters this morning.

He said at his home that he had intended to read a statement urging President Park Chung Hee and his Government to resign and nullify the political reforms carried out under

THE NEW YORK TIMES, TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 13, 1973

Women Students Join the Protest Drive in Seoul

Special to The New York Times

SEOUL, South Korea, Nov. 12 — Four thousand students at South Korea's largest university for women held a rally today to demand a "genuine democratic system" in this country in the latest development in the spreading student protest against the Government.

They resolved to wear black ribbons on their jackets until conditions are improved.

The rally took place at Ewha Women's University, the first women's university to join the protest charging Government repression in South Korea. Ewha, a Christian-oriented institution with an enrollment of 8,000, is the world's largest university exclusively for women.

The protest movement started early last month when students of Seoul National University staged a series of dem-

4,000 at Campus Rally Call for 'Genuine' Democracy With Basic Rights Guaranteed

onstrations calling for an end of "fascist rule." Today students of two more colleges of the national university joined in the spreading boycott of classes, bringing the number of colleges affected in the state-run university to nine out of the total of 13.

Students at two private institutions in Seoul, the University of Foreign Studies and Hankuk Theological seminary, are also on strike.

At Ewha, about 4,000 students gathered at the school auditorium after a chapel service and approved a resolution demanding that the Govern-

ment "establish a genuine democratic system guaranteeing the people's basic rights to the maximum degree," and that it "guarantee freedom of press, speech, and assembly."

They asked the authorities to withdraw police agents from campuses and insure academic freedom, and to release all detained students at once. A total of 15 students are reported under arrest.

To deal with the spreading strike in Seoul National University, school authorities warned the students in a written notice on campus bulletin boards that those who failed to attend classes would be punished under school regulations. Punishment can include suspension or expulsion, the notice said.

The college deans also sent letters to parents, calling on them to urge their children to return to classes.

SOUTH KOREA

A WINTER OF APPEASEMENT

By Tony Patrick



Seoul: If the Cabinet reshuffle in South Korea on December 3 is an indicator, President Park Chung Hee is at last beginning to take notice of rising dissension to his régime. The reorganisation followed frustration over the deadlocked negotiations with the North, the heavy-handed abduction from Japan on August 8 of opposition leader Kim Dae Jung and two months of student unrest supported by many intellectuals.

Even as the new Cabinet was being announced, students from Ehwa Women's University were demonstrating in front of the National Assembly building while students from other colleges (who have been forced into a premature winter holiday allegedly because of the oil shortage) were demonstrating throughout the country.

The Administration's musical chairs is unlikely to bring about any major policy changes and will not dilute the military background of the Cabinet. However, the move looks certain to give the régime some respite from criticism. The changes, although more or less expected, came sooner than anticipated — in fact, only hours after the reduced 1974 Budget Bill was passed.

First news of the changes came when government spokesman Yon Chu Yong announced the mass resignation of the 20-man Cabinet as a response to a self-confessed "failure to assist the Chief Executive in a proper way" and as responsibility for "a series of recent events . . . at home and abroad." When the new appointments were made, the most significant omission was that of Lee Hu Rak, Director of South Korea's Central Intelligence Agency.

Lee also resigned, "for health reasons," as Seoul's co-Chairman of the South-North Coordinating Committee. Pyongyang had been insisting on the removal of Lee, who has now been replaced by Vice co-Chairman Chang Key Yong. Chang met the North's Vice co-Chairman Ryu Jang Sik on December 5 at Panmunjom in the first talks for about six months, but the parties did not agree on how to permanently re-

open the dialogue. More talks were proposed by the South. However, the North could not reply to the request before consultation with Pyongyang.

Lee was replaced as CIA chief by former lawyer and justice minister Shin Chick Su, 46, who gained a grounding in the CIA as deputy director ten years ago.

Blame for the Kim Dae Jung kidnapping had also been directed at Foreign Minister Kim Yong Shik, Home Minister Kim Hyon Ok and Justice Minister Shin Chick Su. All were moved — Shin to the CIA post and Kim Yong Shik to the Ministry of National Unification. Surprisingly, in view of the student unrest, Education Minister Min Kwan Shik was not removed.

Prime Minister Kim Jong Pil, Deputy Prime Minister and Economic Planning Board Minister Tae Wan Son, and eight other ministers were not affected by the reshuffle.

Predictably, ministers in charge of South Korea's booming economy were left virtually untouched, although Construction Minister Chang Yie Joon swapped offices with Commerce and Industry Minister Lee Nak Su, who is being held responsible for the country's ill-judged switch from coal to oil for electricity generation.

The Foreign Affairs portfolio went to former ambassador to Japan and more recently Ambassador to the US Kim

Dong Jo. Harvard graduate Hahm Pyong Chun, a presidential assistant who is well known to US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, was designated Ambassador to Washington. Ambassador-designate to Tokyo — replacing Lee Ho — is former National Unification Board minister Kim Yong Son.

Opposition National Assembly member and NDP spokesman Chai Mun Shik told the REVIEW his party could claim much of the credit for the Administration's changes. But pressure from overseas and the students, combined with the oil crisis, played equally significant roles. As an indicator that worse is expected on the oil front, the Government increased oil prices by an average 30% a day after the Cabinet changes, while a number of other prices, including electricity, were also increased.

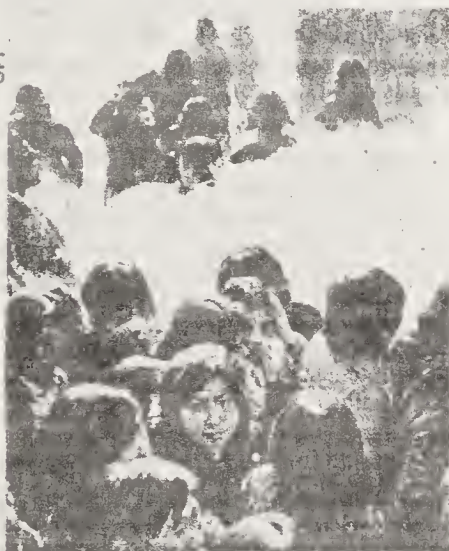
While placation of the régime's opposition will be achieved, at least for the time being (and especially if the CIA retracts its claws during the hard winter period), Park's government might have to reassert its authority again in the spring when the students return to the campuses.

By then, however, the President might have something else up his sleeve — perhaps the old "external threat" trick. On December 1, the first step in creating such a distraction was taken when the armed forces were put on alert against "provocative activities" by North Korean naval vessels in the Yellow Sea.

A correspondent adds: South Korea's students are the only segment in a country denied civil liberties that has dared to protest openly and persistently against the regimentation battered down by its rulers. In 1960, a students' revolution toppled the totalitarian régime of Syngman Rhee.

A year after Gen. Park Chung Hee exchanged his military uniform for the civilian clothes of the President, the students revolted. This was against his plans to normalise relations with Japan. Martial law was imposed to suppress the demonstrations.

Another revolt broke out when he tampered with the Constitution to permit him a third term as President, though he was legally entitled to only



Ehwa students: Pushing demands.

two.

President Park's rule has been pock-marked with eruptions of student protests. Each has been controlled by violence and repression. Dissident students have been jailed or hauled off to military service after the universities were forced to expel them.

Park has survived by alternating his rule between martial law and the chronic virtual state of emergency in which most institutions and safeguards against arbitrary imprisonment or detention without trial are inoperative.

For two months now, the students have been protesting in nationwide demonstrations. The immediate provocation is the odious abuse of power which showed itself in the kidnapping from Tokyo of Kim Dae Jung.

But the grievances are old and rooted in the corruption of the Park clique; the tortures and secret arrests carried out by the notorious Central Intelligence Agency, which the students want disbanded; the students' aspirations to be free from Japanese economic colonialism, which is encouraged by the "compradore" Park group at the expense of the national entrepreneurs; and their desire for a democratic society.

This time the students have forced Park to drop Lee Hu Rak, the Director of the CIA. Some concessions have been made — such as pulling the police off the campuses and handing the surveillance of the students to the university authorities. But there is no sign yet that these steps will satisfy the students.

Park will tighten the screws in other ways. But it remains one of the wonders of Asia that students find it possible to rise against régimes which apparently have unlimited powers — and the will — to keep the people subjugated.

The student spring

By Frank Gould

With more than 60 demonstrations reported at 24 colleges and universities during October and November, President Park Chung Hee is discovering that screwing down the lid and turning up the heat is not an effective recipe for social tranquillity. That he will take the lesson to heart is doubtful, but the Government has recently been adopting a more lenient policy of trying to quieten things down by letting some of the steam off.

On-campus demonstrations have been tolerated and, before Park's decision to release those still held, arrested demonstration leaders were receiving relatively

short 10-25 day sentences. Students recently released report that they were not tortured as badly as those arrested earlier.

Unlike the students in Thailand's recent upheaval, Korean students have no real leadership and the police are actively trying to prevent the development of one. So far, the general order of demonstrations has been for the students to spontaneously rush off the campus at the urging of a few fellow students and the police to drive them back and lock the gates, followed by several hours of stones coming one way over the gates and American-made teargas coming the other way. The students may take a break at some point to pass a resolution, while the police try to identify apparent



Police move in on Seoul demonstrators: Accent on institutions, policies.

AP

leaders to be picked up on the way home.

As student demonstrations and boycotts grew in size and frequency during early November, the Government opted for early vacations as a means of bringing the situation under control. Unwilling to take the responsibility for closing schools, the Education Ministry began informing universities: "We are not requesting that you close early, but we would greatly appreciate it."

Thus some schools, such as the Hankook Theological Seminary, were in the curious position of having their students opposing the Government by voting not to go to classes, while their faculty opposed it by voting to continue classes. By the end of November most schools had closed, only to find that their students either came anyway to demand that they re-open, or simply went over to a school that was still open.

It is doubtful that the recent Cabinet reshuffle will satisfy the students. Since the first demonstration on October 2, at Seoul National University's Liberal Arts

College, demanded immediate dissolution of the Korean Central Intelligence Agency (KCIA) — "the master-mind of fascism" — the students have emphasized institutions and policies rather than personalities, and their statements have never attacked individuals by name. Lee Hu Rak, former director of the KCIA, may not be very popular but it is doubtful that anybody will be too impressed by his fall from grace, if the KCIA's repressive policies continue unabated.

Student resolutions have been taking a strong nationalistic, anti-Japanese line, hitting at the Government's close ties with Japan. On November 7, after criticizing "the selling of our sisters' bodies under the prettified name of 'tourism,'" students at Seoul National University's

College of Engineering went on to charge that "without revealing to the people the truth about the Kim Dae Jung incident . . . the Government has forged an equivocal compromise with the Japanese Government."

A statement by "Christian Youth" on November 20 said: "Thinking of none but itself, Japan's economic takeover is not only making Korea a serving maid to Japan's economic advantage, while bringing about the economic ruin of our people, but is also increasing the Korean Government's corruption and dictatorship. It is common knowledge that this is a fact . . . we condemn it as an unforgivable act of hostility."

An even stronger "Proclamation of Anti-Imperialism and Anti-Compradorism" made the same day at Seoul National University's College of Commerce stated: "The Prime Minister has gone to Japan to express his so-called regrets. Receiving absolution from Japan, the country that slaughtered an untold number of our countrymen and destroyed our economy, in-

furiates us. We call traitors those Asian men of culture in Korea who, under the Japanese Imperialists, urged young Koreans to join the Japanese Army and drove them out into the hell of battle.

"So, then, what should we call those who, less than 30 years after the Japanese have been driven out, have us again teaching Japanese in the high schools, who pass outlandish laws, and who, under the guise of protecting foreign investment, even prohibit labour disputes where foreign capital is involved . . .

"While those who have conspired with Japanese capitalism are lounging in the *kisaeng* (Korean-style *geisha*) houses and on the golf courses . . . they keep claiming that Japanese investment cannot be separated from the Korean economy . . . The saturation of Japanese capital will not only destroy our economy, it will also bring about Japanese political interference and military intervention."

One aspect of the present trouble which differs from previous Korean student movements is the participation of women's colleges. In particular, Ehwa Women's University has become one of the centres of activity. On November 28, some 3,000 Ehwa students held a sit-in on the street outside the campus; despite being repeatedly bombarded with teargas, they remained there for five hours, returning to the campus for an all-night prayer vigil; 3,000 signatures were collected on a petition demanding the release of all arrested students by December 1, threatening more demonstrations if they were not. Large numbers of college girls can be seen on the streets of Seoul wearing black ribbons, symbolising the "death of democracy."

One issue not mentioned publicly is the strange case of Professor Tche (usually romanised as Choi) of the Law Faculty at Seoul National University, a supporter of the student movement. In late October it was announced that Prof. Tche had committed suicide at the KCIA prison after confessing to being a North Korean agent; a later announcement stated that a large number of people arrested with him, including several students, were released with warnings, an unprecedented act of leniency. In fact, no students were arrested along with him.

Tche's wife was not allowed to see the body. A student under detention at the time of Tche's death reported hearing a man outside his cell say that someone "has to be taken to a hospital right away."

Whether, as is widely speculated, the

KCIA had intended to put a damper on the demonstrations by uncovering another "spy ring," or whether something else was involved, the case seems to mark a watershed for a lot of students. As one put it: "I used to believe it when I read in the newspaper about spies. But if they can claim that a man like Tche is a spy, I'll never be able to believe them again."

The big question is which group will become involved next. Eyebrows were raised when the opposition New Democratic Party began acting up, demanding the re-enactment of *habeas corpus* but the so-called "Second Government Party" eventually dropped the issue, and few people look to them for leadership. On November 30, the Korean Bar Association recommended certain legal changes to benefit defendants, including, apart from *habeas corpus*, the right to meet their lawyers and the right to early bail.

Newsmen are also growing restless under the control of KCIA censors. On November 30, the Government called a meeting of newspaper publishers for 10 a.m., intending to order them to cease printing articles about demonstrations (after the first few demonstrations, which were "reported" only in the form of blank columns in the *Dong-A Ilbo* on October 4 and October 5, brief reports were permitted).

Before this meeting took place, the staffs of several prominent newspapers held meetings to oppose the Government's action. At 9 a.m. the reporters and editorial staff of the *Chungang Ilbo*, never been particularly outspoken in the past, unanimously declared: "It has been a long time since we, the Chungang mass communications reporters, have been able to fulfil our mission as monitors of society, to tell the truth, to report the facts, and to criticise."

"We are, first of all, keenly aware of the fact that the grievous present state of affairs has resulted in our lack of courage. We submit ourselves to self-examination before the people. Now, increasing and absurd restrictions from the outside are destroying even the basic right of reporting the facts. We now resolve . . . to unite and condemn all manner of pressure and interference . . . We will report things as we see them." They also expressed their determination by announcing a one-day "suspension of activities."

One potentially crucial factor is not of Park's own making. Noting general grumbling when bus routes were being curtailed due to the oil shortage, while private cars were left unaffected, one

man who has served two jail terms under Park enthusiastically declared: "If this lasts six months, he'll be out! His five-year plan will be destroyed! I'm going to waste every bit of oil I can get hold of!"

Another long-time opponent of the Park régime said: "Spring is going to be the important time. The Government can keep control until the students go home for the winter vacation, and everything will be quiet. But the students will be talking to their families and friends. When they come back in the spring they'll demonstrate again, and they will no longer be isolated from the rest of society."

An ominous thaw

By Kim Sam-o

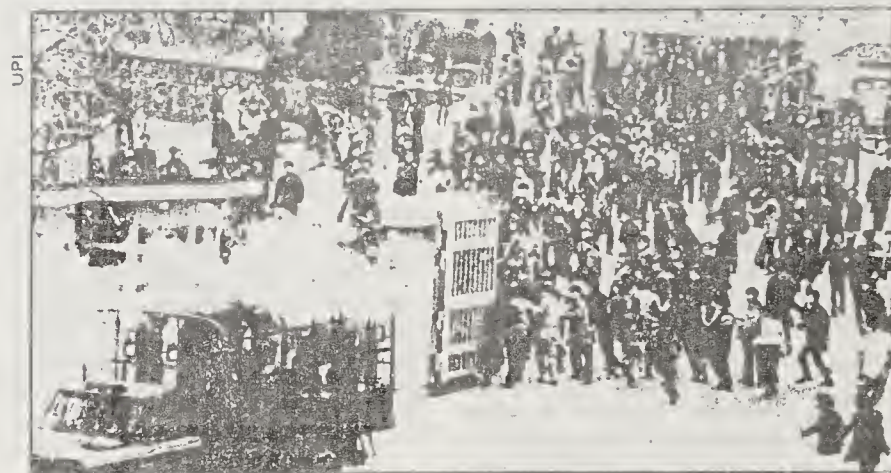
Seoul: The start of the long winter recess and a cold spell saved South Korea from mass student demonstrations. The recent Cabinet reshuffle and other conciliatory moves by the Government do not seem to have soothed the aftermath of the autumn student demonstrations – rather, they opened a vent for anti-authority sentiment.

Kim has completed the first round of face-to-face contact with a wide spectrum of leaders. By all indications, however, this is going to be the winter of the coldest and worst discontent in a decade. Part of this is due to bad luck – the energy crisis has forced many factories to cut operations severely, though not shut down, resulting in laying off staff. This, coupled with worldwide material shortages, is threatening to produce the worst inflation in years.

More important, many feel that the peace offensive launched by the Government is a makeshift measure and is hardly enough to convince the people. Despite the new mood of thaw, President Park Chung Hee and his followers clarified that any moves challenging the substance of *Yushin* (the October Revitalising Reforms) will not be tolerated.

Apart from civil liberty, such fundamental problems as mistrust of men at the administrative helm and corruption are present. The question seems to be: Are they honest enough and is wealth equitably distributed?

Given the lack of genuine reforms, the crucial test facing the Government will be what to do when the students return to the campuses next spring and threaten to take to the streets again. Without a new wave of CIA counter-attacks, it seems unlikely that sporadic rallies by student and other groups for more freedom and reforms will subside.



Anti-government demonstration in Seoul, Park Chung Hee: Eroded 'mandate.'

THE PANIC OF PARK CHUNG HEE

By Robert Campbell

Seoul: South Korea's President Park Chung Hee last week proclaimed a set of drastic measures prohibiting any challenges to his régime or the Constitution he handed down under martial law in November 1972. Thus has Park demonstrated how unstable his mandate has become. Indeed, even his iron-bound Constitution has been unable to control the democratic spirit of the South Koreans. The taste of freedom during the past four months, won after widespread agitation by students and liberals, has only renewed the desire to escape repression. From now on, however, those who defy Park will be arrested without warrant and tried by a special High Military Tribunal that can jail them for up to fifteen years. It is illegal to support or propose constitutional revision or repeal, or to publish news reports on moves of that sort. Anyone who disseminates false rumours or defames the January 8 emergency measure may be imprisoned for up to fifteen years.

The President named General Lee Se Ho, former commander of Korean forces in South Vietnam, as President of the tribunal set up at the Defence Ministry to try offenders. The court has nationwide jurisdiction.

Park's sudden measure followed a decision that same day by the New Democratic Party, the main opposition body, to support fast-spreading movements for amendments to the basic law. The constitution movement reached a climax the previous day when 61 men of letters gathered at Seoul's YMCA building and signed a four-point statement that read in part: "We literary men can no longer keep silence at this difficult time, when

the survival of our nation is at stake and when most of our brethren are suffering from poverty and oppression."

Park recently has been confronted with the widest opposition to his authoritarian rule that he has encountered since solidifying his power by declaring a State of National Emergency two years ago, and making himself president for life under the new Constitution.

This mounting pressure has brought the régime under the most serious threat it has ever faced. Park's previous attempts to cool growing anti-government activity on various fronts have met with only limited success, and small gains achieved by opposition forces have served only to deepen their resolve and commitment.

Sunday, December 16 marked a joint Protestant-Roman Catholic church service held at the Seoul YMCA with Stephan Cardinal Kim Su Hwan, the leader of South Korea's Catholics urging the restoration of democratic freedoms and urging the Government to listen to student demands. On the same day at least 200 Catholic students staged a street demonstration in Seoul's crowded Myong-Dong shopping district until they were stopped by the police.

Anti-government activity had now

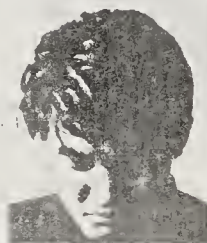
taken on a significant new character. With the nation's universities closed by the Government to prevent student gatherings, the churches and the liberal intellectual community had now become the new core of opposition.

Large demonstrations occurred during the next few days; further demands were made by groups of churchmen and intellectuals. On December 18 the new Home Minister, Hong Song Chul, announced that the Government would cease surveillance of schools and churches except for cases relating to subversive activities. And though the nation's leading independent newspaper, *Dong-a Ilbo*,

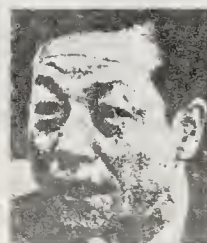
had published an editorial complaining about being restricted to single-column stories about demonstrations, the Government also announced that the press would be free of Korean Central Intelligence Agency visitors in editorial rooms. When one editor was asked whether this portended a favourable trend, he answered: "We can only wait and see."

A wide range of opposition activities continued, including the beginning of a six-day prayer-fast by 27 ministers at a Seoul church to confess their sin of having failed to preserve democracy.

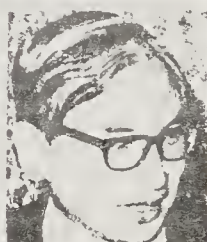
On December 24 a cross-section of 30 social and religious leaders launched a



Kim Chi Ha



Kim Jong Pil



Chang Jun Ha



Lee Hu Rak

"The government of Park Chung Hee demands 100% obedience to itself.... I am sick at heart because I have been forced to leave Korea, but my pain is as nothing compared to that of the Korean brethren. They are in cold, miserable prisons because they too have acted from Christian conscience."

—G. Ogle, Dec. '74

campaign to gather 1 million signatures on a petition calling for the restoration of democracy and revision of President Park's martial law constitution. Among the group were Stephan Cardinal Kim; the highly respected former president of Korea University (and onetime opposition party leader) Dr Yu Chin O; Mag-saysay Award winner Chang Jun Ha; Dr L. George Paik, President-Emeritus of Yonsie University; Kim Jae Jun, former president of the Korean Theological Seminary; Chun Kwon U, the nation's senior journalist; retired general and former opposition personality Kim Hong Il; and dissident poet Kim Chi Ha.

Claiming 5,000 supporters at the outset, the group urged South Koreans to send in their signatures. Citizens began responding in various groups, such as 80 Christians attending a prayer meeting at Yongdong Church in Seoul, and a group of seven student leaders from Seoul National University. But the campaign was barely off the ground when the Government began to counter it. Only two days after it began, Premier Kim Jong Pil spent an hour on television calling for public trust in the Government.

Chang Jun Ha, spokesman for the signature campaign, called the Premier's speech a "challenge to civil rights," and the campaign continued. President Park, now feeling the threat raised by the campaign, personally issued a special statement condemning "subversive movements by imprudent people to overthrow the present system." Park continued: "I strictly warn that all the seditious statements and activities of the petition campaign aiming at denying and overthrowing the present system are to be halted immediately." Still, as one Westerner observed: "Mr Park cannot rule by emergency measures."

SOUTH KOREA

Everything's illegal

By Robert Campbell

Seoul: President Park Chung Hee's new state of emergency, the second in two years, has effectively suppressed all overt opposition activity, at least for the present. The January 8 decree was aimed at halting a new nationwide movement for constitutional revision, a movement which was a direct threat to Park's autonomous rule under the new Constitution he implemented during martial law in November 1972.

Emergency Measure No. 1 makes it illegal "for any person to deny, oppose, misrepresent or defame the Constitution of the Republic of Korea," or "to assert, introduce, propose or petition for revision or repeal of the Constitution."

Fifteen articles of the second emergency measure combine to set up a complete system of military trials by which civilians who violate the prohibition are to be sentenced to prison terms of up to fifteen years. And: "Any person who violates any provision of these emergency measures and any person who defames them shall be subjected to arrest, detention, search or seizure, without warrant. . ."

Other provisions of Measure Two are also ominous: "There shall be no limitation on detention period" (Article 11). "When necessary for trial and investigation, an accused or a suspect may be ordered by the presiding judge or the prosecuting officer to be confined (to house arrest) in such facilities as a hospital or a house with appropriate restriction or supervision. Any person who violates the order of confinement shall be punished by imprisonment for not more than five years" (Article 13). And Article 15 provides that any case presently in the civil courts will be transferred to the emergency court martial system if the defendant is accused

of also violating the emergency measures.

The new measures also make it illegal for the press to report on any violations of the emergency measures, or to report on any opposition to the Constitution. The Government has pointed out to foreign journalists residing in Korea that these measures also apply to them. This pressure has been directed primarily against the Japanese press, by far the largest body of foreign press in Korea. Warnings not to 'meddle in Korean affairs by reporting about Korean domestic matters have resulted in the Japanese press becoming completely cowed by the threats, and failing to do any reporting whatsoever about conditions under Park's new emergency.

Meanwhile, opposition Christian student leaders and opposition politicians are being interrogated in prison and other social leaders are under strict surveillance. On the morning after declaration of the emergency, a group of student leaders were taken from the Christian Academy House in the mountains north of Seoul for questioning and warnings, and released after a few hours. On the same day, Kim Nok Yung, spokesman for the opposition Democratic Unification Party (DUP), was taken into custody, not to be released until four days later. On the second day after the decree, two Assemblymen of the opposition New Democratic Party (NDP), Kim Su Han and Kim Ui Taek, were held; they were released the next day.

The same day, three or four more student leaders were taken in for a day's interrogation. When they were picked up at the office of the Korean Student Christian Federation, various pamphlets, leaflets, and copies of foreign press reports about the Korean situation were confiscated from the students and from their office.

Also that day, two important opposition politicians were interned: Yang Il Dong, leader of the DUP, and Kim Yong

Park appoints Gen. Lee Sai Ho to head 'emergency court-martial' body.



JANUARY 21, 1974

Sam, a powerful faction leader of the NDP. Yang, whose party had endorsed the constitutional amendment campaign, was reportedly in poor health when both were released, but it is unknown whether or not this was a result of interrogation.

Kim Yong Sam, who had been a strong contender to become opposition presidential candidate against President Park in the 1971 election, had been one of the first to call for constitutional revision in mid-December, and was at least partially responsible for the NDP's unanimous decision to support the constitutional amendment campaign.

Another large group of religious, social and political leaders who had been involved in the constitutional amendment petition campaign are now under close observation, which, in some cases, began as early as 5.30 a.m. the day after the emergency decree was announced.

Venerable Buddhist leader Pop Chong and Yonsei University Dean Dr Kim Chon Ku have reportedly been required to make space for government agents to live in their homes. Others, including Chun Kwan Woo, former publisher of the independent *Tong-A* daily newspaper, Magsaysay Award winner and former magazine publisher Chang Jun Ha, the Rev. Kim Kwang Sok, General Secretary of the Korean National Council of Churches, protestant ministers Pak Hyung Kyu, Oh Chung Il, Cho Seung Hyuk, Kim Sang Keun and Kim Chung Yul, and other Churchmen and social leaders, have been placed under 24-hour surveillance in their homes and offices.

Most still have some freedom of movement, even while being watched. But Dr Kim Chae Hwi, elderly former president of Hankook Theological Seminary, was prohibited from traveling to the southern city of Kwangju where he had been scheduled to deliver a lecture.

Other opposition figures are reportedly in hiding. The peaceful campaign to gather 1 million signatures supporting constitutional revision had, according to its organisers, garnered approximately 500,000 before Park declared it illegal. Though many who signed indicate that they will now do nothing further because of the campaign's illegality, there are still some who say that they will continue to try gathering signatures secretly.

Though opposition to the Park régime has now been forced completely underground, Park's harsh new measures have in no way salved the ill-feeling against him. Opposition sentiment still simmers, waiting for a chance of release.

FAR EASTERN ECONOMIC REVIEW

Cracking the whip

2/18/74 By Bernard Wideman

President Park Chung Hee's emergency court martial has made a thorough start. On February 7, six Christian ministers were sentenced to prison terms of ten to fifteen years. On February 2 in the same court, seven college students received prison sentences ranging from five to ten years. The previous day a respected former magazine publisher and an opposition movement leader had been given prison terms of fifteen years.

These arrests are the result of President Park's January 8 decree that citizens who "petition for revision" of the Constitution shall be arrested "without warrant" and tried by emergency court martial (REVIEW, Jan. 21). While Park's decree forced an end to the petition drive that had been in progress, it fanned the anger of those intellectuals, students and religious leaders who had been demanding civil liberties and an end to economic dependence on Japan.

The six ministers sentenced to jail were among those who issued a statement on January 17 calling on the Government to allow "free discussion on the revision of the Constitution," to "restore democratic order" in the society, and to withdraw the January 8 Presidential decree. On the day after the appearance of the statement in which they declared "We are determined to sacrifice ourselves if need be," eleven of them were arrested. The Government announced their arrest five days later.

An advertisement placed in a Seoul daily on January 20 by the Government-controlled Federation of Korean Trade Unions (FKTU) using similar language called for "self-reflection on the part of the few mindless religious leaders who have infiltrated our labour organisations to agitate our good workers and to undermine the perspectives of a healthy labour movement."

This issue of church influence among South Korea's 4 million workers would appear to be a bigger threat to the Government than the mild statement issued by the ministers. So far, the Government-controlled unions generally have been able to thwart any worker initiative towards real trade unionism. But for two years, ministers and priests have been guiding workers to form liberal ideas and independent unions.

It is worth noting that at least two of the ministers sentenced have been active in the churches' labour missions. The FKTU said in its advertisement: "We are . . . warning . . . religious leaders who have lost their sense of duty and

have interfered with labour organisations. If they foolishly continue to agitate, we will mobilise all the powers of our organisation to destroy them." Ten to fifteen years is a pretty good indication that the Government's warning is serious.

President Park's act of 'overkill'

4/15/74 By A Correspondent

Seoul: President Park Chung Hee's third decree this year aimed at stifling protest is being described as an overkill. "It's like killing a mosquito with an army boot," said one irate Seoul citizen.

The new decree, which the Government hopes will silence student critics of the Park régime, declares that those belonging to, supporting or demonstrating with the National Federation of Democratic Young Students will be punished with sentences ranging from five years imprisonment to death. Also punishable under the decree is publicising the activities of the students' federation, and refusal by students to attend classes and examinations.

The students' federation is a newly-organised underground group responsible for anti-government demonstrations in Seoul on April 3, which prompted Park to issue the new decree. The demonstrators protested against inflation and the arrest of students under the January 8 presidential decree, which introduced prison sentences of up to fifteen years for those critical of the Constitution. Students arrested in this month's demonstrations included seven leaders of the influential Korean Students' Christian Federation.

Earlier demonstrations in autumn last year were random affairs, but the April 3 protests and distribution of leaflets in Seoul and Taegu, showed organised planning and leadership. Opposition leaders say the demonstrations will continue, but a Western political scientist in Seoul suggests that, even if the protests do succeed in weakening Park, it would take a military coup to finally topple the old warrior.

The protests were not reported in the South Korean press, although the new presidential decree was, as was a government statement labelling the students' federation as communist-inspired. The Japanese press, cautioned by Seoul's constant warnings, carried wire service reports without comment — all except the *Asahi Shimbun* which editorialised that "the weed called the common people will spread its roots deeply and strongly the more it is trampled."

SOUTH KOREA

EDGING TOWARDS DISORDER

By A Correspondent

The protest movement which began last autumn in South Korea continues to spread. And, for the first time, voices of dissent have labelled President Park Chung Hee himself as the object of the peoples' wrath.

On April 8, a 31-year-old chicken farmer died by self-immolation in the Yong Nak Presbyterian Church in Seoul. After soaking his clothing with an inflammable liquid, he shouted: "Down with Park Chung Hee!" He then lit a match. The Government, obviously embarrassed by the incident, said the man had committed suicide because of a broken love affair.

There are virtually no news reports on the situation in South Korea. The Korean correspondents of the Western wire services as well as the Japanese correspondents of the Tokyo dailies and networks are not reporting. The only related story to come out of Seoul recently was a Kyodo report saying that the Government was holding two Japanese students in a Seoul hotel and questioning them about alleged contacts they had with the National Federation of Democratic Students and Youths.

Although published reports are scarce, a long-distance telephone conversation with a well-informed Westerner in Seoul produced the following picture: On April 11, students at Chonnam University in Kwangju (300 kilometres southwest of Seoul) demonstrated against the Government. Twelve were arrested, and the Minister of Education ordered the university authorities to expel them. Their arrest and charges have not been announced by the Government, and it is not known whether or not they will be charged with violating President Park's April 3 decree which makes death one of the possible punishments for demonstrating (REVIEW, Apr. 15).

On April 12, students at the prestigious Seoul National University (SNU) again demonstrated. SNU students were responsible for beginning the protest movement last October, criticising Korean Central Intelligence Agency



The winter riots: Now, the spectre of martial law.

(KCIA) intrusion into citizens' affairs, the Japanese takeover of the economy, and the Government's explanation of the Kim Dae Jung affair. They were also the ones who rekindled the smouldering movement by leading demonstrations on April 3. The Government has announced rewards of Won 2 million (US\$5,013) to anyone giving information leading to the arrest of three of the students who helped organise the demonstrations and are now in hiding. A reliable report claims that the Government has already arrested eight leaders of the student movement. They are among a total of 80-100 said to have been arrested in the past two weeks.

The REVIEW's source in Seoul claims that stories of continued KCIA brutality are spreading in Seoul, and that the replacement of Lee Hu Rak by Shin Jik Soo as director of the KCIA has prompted no change in its method of operation. In connection with these rumours

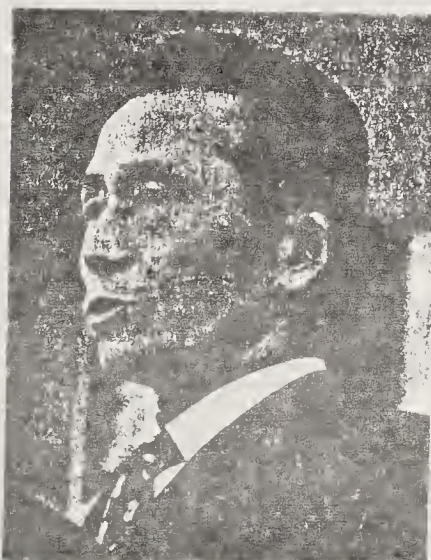
of brutality, South Korea's Cardinal Stephen Kim Su Hwan startled his Easter mass audience at Myongdong Cathedral by "ad-libbing" one sentence of English in his Easter message. He said: "What can you say about a 25-year-old girl who is dead?"

Seoul citizens widely assume that this was Cardinal Kim's way of announcing and mourning the death of one of the many Ehwa University co-eds known to have been arrested. The Cardinal, whose integrity is untarnished by any political or business involvements, is probably the most respected individual in South Korea.

Also arrested recently was a cartoonist from one of Seoul's daily newspapers. He drew a cartoon depicting a family suffering under a cruel father and a caption saying that "a family can get rid of a bad father." While discussing this incident with the source in Seoul, the telephone line was disconnected.

In addition to the demonstrations in Seoul and Kwangju, there are unconfirmed reports of protest activities in Pusan, Taegu, Taejon and Chonju. Spokesmen for leaders of the protest movement say they are encouraged by the Government's heavy-handed reactions, specifically the death sentence decree and the substantial rewards. They say this indicates that the Government is more fearful than it has ever been. They also say that Park Chung Hee has eliminated peaceful alternatives. His last remaining move, they say, is to reinstate martial law.

While there is no doubt that the protest movement is growing, its strength has not yet caused foreign embassies to report with alarm to their home government, according to one Western diplomat.



Park: Only one option.

Defendants Maneuvered To Set Up Red Regime Under Common Front Tactics: Court-Martial

The prosecution authority of the Emergency Court-Martial yesterday instituted prosecution against 54 among the apprehended for involvement in the Democratic National Students-Youth League (DNSYL) scheme to topple the present government on charges of having violated Presidential Emergency Measure No. 4, the National Security Law, the Anti-Communist Law and Presidential Emergency Measure No. 1, according to the court-martial.

The 54 involved in the law suit were also charged with having conspired and instigated national unrest, sources at the court-martial said. They were under investigation and indicted in a first phase procedure among the 253 transferred to the court-martial last month.

A total of 1,024 persons, including 266 self-surrenders and 732 rounded up by the investigators, were under investigation on charges of having violated the Presidential Emergency Measure No. 4, according to the court-martial. Except the 233 tendered to the court-martial, all others were released with admonitions, court sources said.

The DNSYL attempted to set up a provisional coalition government with an ultimate purpose of communizing the whole political structure after toppling down the present political system by means of a bloody and violent revolution



So

To



Ye



Hayakawa

Tachikawa

employing an unified and accumulated strength of the antigovernment elements across the country, prosecution sources said.

Studying a plan to overthrow the government through a nationwide uprising beginning in December last year, Yi Chol, Yu In-tae and other Communist sympathizers strived to organize a common front confederating the several antigovernment elements such as the underground Communist cells in affiliation with the People's Revolutionary Party led by So To-won and To Ye-jong, pro-Pyongyang federation of the Korean residents in Japan (Chochongnyon), Cho Yong-nae and other im-

Indictments Summary On Page 2

pure elements who had been punished for involvement in the student demonstrations, some religious believers, anti-government elements and some antigovernment Christian leaders, it was learned.

The law suit, accordingly, has it that So To-won, and To Ye-jong were resorting to their long-time aspiration to set up a farmer-worker regime even after being released from jail for involvement in the People's Revolutionary Party and the Democratic National Students-Youth League cases. The two, with their illusions, set up underground cells in Seoul and Taegu by rallying the remnants of the badly mauled People's Revolutionary Party since 1969, according to the lawsuit.

Through the agents set up in the cities, the two defendants had collected materials, like several kinds of Commu-

nist books and other impure leaflets, and highly sophisticated radio sets for receiving instructions from the north in an effort to indoctrinate the underground Communist activists with the Communism and north Korean plans to communize the peninsula.

Executing an exact education and training for the recipients, the two waited for an opportunity for antigovernment terrorism to develop into a public uprising for a Communist revolution with supports from the north Korean regime, according to the court-martial.

So and To made abruptive attempts on several occasions since 1971 to instigate demonstrations in and out of Kyongbuk University, but they failed, its cause they attributed to the lack of nationwide underground cells. With the Judgment, the two instructed Yo Chong-nam in charge of college student movements to get in touch with antigovernment students in Seoul universities and colleges in the latter half of last December.

Following this instruction, Yo came up to Seoul with operation funds and joined Yi Chol and Yu In-tae through the good offices of Yi Chul-byong and Kim Yong-won, members of the People's Revolutionary Party's Seoul chapter, and emphasized the necessity and inevitability of a revolution by a violent means.

They reached a conclusion that they had to expedite their mission to form campus cells on the nationwide scale for fierce demonstrations taking advantage of the probable social unrest instigated by economic stagnation caused by the oil crisis and of the rumor

of "March or April crisis," it said.

Yi Chol and Yu In-tae, discontent with the present social system, harbored the illusion that the only way for the people to do away with it is to topple the government by means of violence and set up a laborer-farmer regime, according to the charges filed against him.

Beginning last November, they frequently met with campus activists including Hwang In-song, Chung Mun-hwa, Kim Pyong-gon, Na Pyong-shik, Suh Chung-sok, Chong Yung-gwang, Yi Kun-song, and Kang Chol-gu, all of them the league leaders, to map up future strategies.

Uprisings Instigated

Pointing out that the Oct. 2 campus unrest was foiled for lack of support from student organizations, laborers and farmers, they determined to construct a nationwide federation of students and unify student movements by communizing with college students in Seoul, Taegu, Kwangju, Pusan, Taejeon and Chuncheon by March this year. Their basic purpose was to instigate uprisings in cities when a decisive moment came in March or April, according to the charges.

By March they completed the scheme to organize an underground body comprised of students in 24 universities and colleges in six cities and more than ten high schools in Seoul and other cities, this forming the National Democratic Students-Youth League formally. They set 2 p.m. April 3, this year as the moment to rise simultaneously up for bloody actions, according to the charges.

Post-Korean War Generation Vulnerable

League Activists Vanguard In Fulfilling P'yang Goals

By Chae Sung-hee

The case involving those who organized the subversive Democratic National Students-Youth League has presented to the national conscience several things to be seriously considered.

According to the outcome of the investigations, the case has at least six points which one may define as its characteristics.

First, the league was organized by Communist and anti-government elements and piloted by Communist political forces in north Korea and Japan. The league established a united front with the "Peoples Revolutionary Party," Japanese Communist elements and the pro-north Korea residents federation (Chochongnyon) in Japan.

Their primary goal was to establish a "common front," overthrow the Republic of Korea by "bloody, violent revolution" and set up a Communist regime. Their maneuvers in the Republic is a model case which the north Korean Communist Party resolved at its fifth congress in November 1970.

The fifth Communist Party congress decided, as a basic tactic of communizing the south, to push ahead with the

common front under the principle of peoples democratic revolution.

The DNSYL case is not an accident but a well calculated act which took a long time in the planning stage, according to the investigation findings. This second characteristic astounded many people who remember numerous instances of Communist subversion in the past.

Through its long, clandestine underground activities, the league managed to found the largest secret network in the history of the Republic. It must be noted with the utmost concern that almost all universities and colleges were selected as centers of the league's activities.

Foreign Elements

The third characteristic is found in the fact that diverse "impure elements" at home and abroad and involved in the case.

Twenty-eight members of the Peoples' Revolutionary Party had contacted the league through Ro Chong-nam. In an effort to instigate violent Communist revolution, they did everything they could, while the Chochongnyon and some Japanese Communist Party elements also played a part.

In this connection, the be-

hind-the-scenes role of Chochongnyon should be given full attention. By using Kwak Tong-ui and Tachikawa, a Japanese, the pro-Pyongyang residents federation attempted to serve as a go-between in supplying arms from north Korea to overthrow the Republic.

The case has posed serious questions regarding the nation's younger generation born after the three-year Korean War. The league could be said as an example that those youths have become communistic and emerged on the surface of society.

Prey to Tricks

The postwar generation, lacking the bitter experience of Communist atrocities and oppression, has apparently caught the delusion of communism and become prey to the tricks of the impure elements. Investigation findings point out that the fourth characteristic — lack of strong anti-Communist posture among the youth — was abused by some of the grownups in the Republic.

As the fifth characteristic, investigation authorities emphasize that agitation and instigation by some thoughtless adults were responsible. Although the paper did not elaborate, it deplors that youths were provided with operation

funds and encouraged to jeopardize national safety by some grownups who "are aware of their antistate plots."

Finally, the league's leaders are mostly from the Seoul National University College of Liberal Arts and Sciences. A group of students initiated demonstrations in October 1973 as a prelude to campus unrest in the ensuing months. It is also pointed out that the SNU students (of the league) were assisted by "a considerable number of those who belong to Christian sects."

On the basis of the six-point characteristics, investigation findings make it clear that north Korea is capitalizing on student activities as part of its scheme to communize the south.

North Korea, which is bent on carrying out a Communist revolution in the Republic of Korea through common front tactics, now regards students as the nucleus of the revolutionary task and has been frantically engaged in instigating student activists.

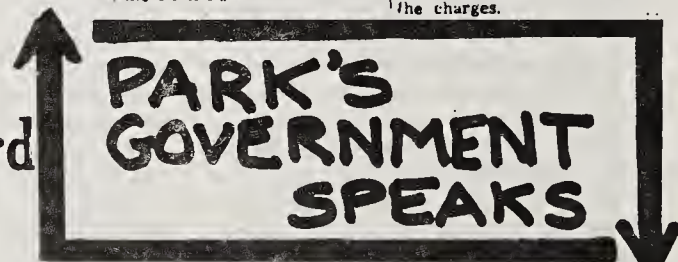
The case also reveals that Christians and other religious circles have become an indisputable target of Communist infiltration. The Communist effort is directed to divert religious activities to the anti-establishment movement. As seen in the first phase of the

four-stage common front formation process, the Communist elements never expose their identity but engage themselves secretly in fanning antigovernment activities.

The public's generous attitude toward student demonstrations should be rectified. The league case has imposed on the public a new task of drawing an acceptable limit to the students' off-campus activities. At the same time, impure elders were warned not to make use of "enthusiastic students" for their "impure purposes."

Finally, it is time for all to strengthen their vigilance against "Communists" by renewing their concept of communism. So far, many people have regarded as the only Communists those "armed espionage agents coming from north Korea."

What is most important lies in the emergence of new self-oriented Communists sympathizers and Red who are deluded by thoughts of communism without the experience of wartime agony and life under the north Korean invaders. In this sense, the league case may have served as a lesson that the postwar generation, apt to be tempted by the illusion of communism, and their parents to reflect on the future, not only for themselves but also for the entire nation.



Summary of 'League' Indictments

The following is the first part of a summary of indictments against 34 persons who were involved in the case of the Democratic National Students-Youth League. The Prosecution Division of the Emergency Court-Martial indicted the 34 persons yesterday. — Ed.

1. So To-won, 51, formerly chairman of the Democratic National Youth League.

The defendant is a Communist who was once sentenced to seven years in prison at a revolutionary tribunal on charges of violating a law governing special crimes in the wake of activities as the chairman of the Democratic National Youth League. During the period from January 1971 to October 1973, he collaborated with codefendants Ha Chae-wan, Yo Chong-nam, Yi Chu-byong, and To Ye-jong in resigning their scattered followers with a view to organizing the progressive subversive force for the ultimate aim of overthrowing the government and establishing a Communist regime through a violent revolution. They met at So's and Ha's houses on several occasions to work out a plot for the formation of the antinational organization and instigation of a revolt. During the period from the middle part of December 1973 to March 24, 1974, the defendant met with codefendants Ha and Yi on several occasions, and they reached the conclusion that an uprising of a nationwide scale was necessary to overthrow the government.

Functionary Called Up

He called Yo Chong-nam up to Seoul, the man who had been manipulating the anti-government demonstrations at Kyongpuk University under the leadership of Ha, and had him organize a nationwide student network which would play the leading role in overthrowing the government by capitalizing on the rumor of a crisis in March or April. So Youths-Student League under the leadership of Yi Chu-byong organized the Democratic Youth-Student League under the leadership of Yi Chu-byong and by manipulating Yi Chol, while instigating the March 21 demonstration at Kyongpuk University as a means of touching off a wave of nationwide antigovernment uprisings. Through these activities So organized an antinational organization and led it.

From January 1971 to February 1974 he listened to the radio correspondence course offered by Kim Il-sung University in North Korea to firm his dedication to communism; he ordered Ha, Yo, and Yi to listen to the radio propaganda, while directing Ha and Song to record the report Kim Il-sung submitted to the fifth national convention of the Workers' Party. The written record was given to Yi for use as propaganda material for their followers in Seoul. In this manner he supported and propagated activities of the north Korean puppet regime by preserving, carrying and disseminating articles produced for that purpose.

During the period from March 18 to April 15, 1974, he drew up a draft of a declaration denouncing the Yushin Constitution and defam-

ing the special emergency measure; and its copies were disseminated at Kyongpuk University demonstrations under the name "Declaration for Opposing Dictatorship and Saving the Nation." After the April 3 measure, he did not report to the investigation authorities on his involvement with the Democratic Youth-Student League. Instead he continuously kept in touch with Yo Chong-nam, an organizer of the league, and devised a means of insuring his safety. His provision of assistance for hiding and continuous operation of the league members is an apparent violation of Emergency Measures No. 1 and No. 4.

2. To Ye-jong, 50, formerly head of the People's Revolutionary Party.

A Communist who once headed the now defunct People's Revolutionary Party, an underground organization manipulated by the north Korean puppet regime, the defendant was sentenced to a three-year prison term in 1964 and released in 1967. During the period from January 1971 to October 1973 he met with codefendants So To-won, Yi Chu-byong, and Yi Chae-mun several times at his house and at the Yajasu tearoom located in Chongjin-dong, Chongno-gu, Seoul, and worked out a plan to organize their followers and overthrow the government and establish a Communist regime through a violent revolution when a decisive moment came. From the middle part of October 1973 to the latter part of February 1974, he met with So and Yi again several times at his house and at the tearoom, and when Yi Chu-byong and U Hong-sun formed a four-member leadership council for the revival of the People's Revolutionary Party and named him and So its members, he accepted the offer.

Becoming a member of the antinational organization, he directed Yi to expand and strengthen the underground Communist force and organize a nationwide student network with a view to overthrowing

the present government by means of force, thereby leading the antinational organization. From the middle part of January to the latter part of February 1974, he met with Yi twice at a tearoom in Ta-dong, Chung-gu, whose name was not disclosed, and they spoke in opposition to the Yushin Constitution and the emergency decrees. Though he was fully informed of the constitution and activities of the Democratic Youth-Student League, he did not report to the investigation and intelligence authorities, thereby violating Presidential Emergency Measures No. 1 and No. 4.

Scattered Forces

3. Ha Chae-wan, 42, formerly in charge of the activities of the now defunct Democratic National Youth League in Kyongsang Pukto.

A Communist who was detained for rehabilitation in June 1948 as a consequence of his violation of the National Security Law and who joined the Democratic National Youth League, a pro-Communist organization. After the 1960 student uprising, he met with codefendants So To-won, Yi Chae-mun, Son Sang-jin, and Yo Chong-nam at his home several times during the period from July 1969 to December 1973 with a view to realigning their scattered forces and instigating student demonstrations on a nationwide scale. They agreed that they would overthrow the government through a violent revolution with public support, and construct a Communist state, thereby conspiring the creation of an antinational organization and instigation of an internal disturbance.

During the period from the middle part of December 1973 to March 18, 1974, the defendant met with So and Yo at his house and at So's several times, calling Yo in Seoul from Taegu where he had been leading and manipulating Kyongpuk University demonstrations and urged him to organize a nationwide student

network to take the van in future demonstrations aimed at overthrowing the government. They reached the agreement that they would rise up in a violent revolt to topple the government by capitalizing on the rumors of crisis in March or April. He introduced Yo to Yi Chu-byong, the organization chief for the Seoul area, and had Yo organize the Democratic Youth-Student League in March 1974 under Yi Chu-byong's supervision by contacting Yi Chol. As a preliminary action he instigated the March 21 Kyongpuk University demonstration and offered 60,000 won donated by Song San-jin for use during the demonstration, thereby preparing for an internal disturbance and playing a leading role in forming an antinational organization.

During the period from the early part of February 1972 to the early part of March 1973, he met with codefendant Song Sang-jin at his home several times and made a full copy of the report delivered by Kim Il-sung at the fifth national convention of the Workers' Party. The notebook carrying Kim's report broadcast over Pyongyang Radio was given to codefendants So To-won, Yo Chong-nam, Yi Chae-mun, Chong Man-jin, Cho Man-ho, Yi Chae-hyong, Yi Hyon-se, and Yim Ku-ho for prudent reading as material for their ideological armament. Through So, the notebook was conveyed to Yi Chu-byong for utilization to enlighten functionaries in the Seoul area. In order to further praise and disseminate reports on the north Korean puppet regime, he produced printed materials from March 18 to April 17, 1974, drew up a draft of a declaration opposing the Yushin Constitution defying the emergency measures and spread its copies at the time of the demonstration in Kyongpuk University with the title, "Declaration Opposing Dictatorship and Saving the Nation." After the April 3 measure, he did not report to the investigation and

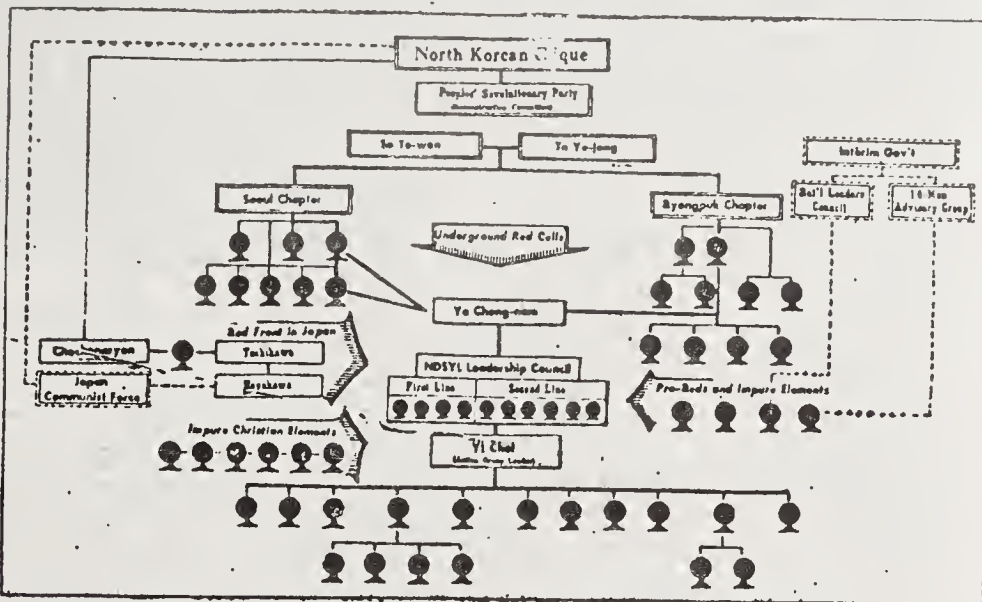
intelligence authorities on his involvement with the Democratic National Students-Youth League. Instead he kept contact with Yo Chong-nam, an organizer of the league, and devised means of protecting the safety of its functionaries in their hiding, thereby violating Emergency Measures No. 1 and No. 4.

4. Yi Chu-byong, 36, a lecturer at a private institute.

A Communist who once served seven years in prison for violations of the law governing special crimes, met with Kang Mu-gap, a leading member of the now defunct People's Revolutionary Party, who are not indicted in this incident, and codefendants So To-won, Wu Hong-sun, and Kim Yong-won at the Yajasu tearoom located in Chongno-gu, Seoul, several times from January 1971 to October 1973, reaching agreement that they would enlist their colleagues in an organization with the ultimate aim of overthrowing the government through a violent revolution and create a Communist state. Receiving 1,700,000 won from Kang Mu-gap as an operational fund, he succeeded in winning support from codefendants Yi Song-jae and Chon Chang-il and organized the four-member leadership council with Wu Hong-sun, naming To Ye-jong and So To-won as its members.

Communist Indoctrination

In the early part of October 1972, he received a notebook containing the entire text of Kim Il-sung's report to the fifth national convention of the Workers' Party and had Kim Yong-won and Kim Jong-dae read it carefully. During the middle part of December 1973 to April 3, 1974, he had discussions with So at the Yajasu tearoom on several occasions, and the two agreed that Yi would receive Yo Chong-nam and train him



PEANUTS

The quick brown fox jumped over the unfortunate dog

into a student organizer on the nationwide scale for the purpose of overthrowing the government. He had Kim Yong-won train Yo and donate 185,000 won as an operational fund for the organization of the Democratic National Students-Youth League, thereby preparing an internal disturbance and forming and leading an antinational organization.

During the period from April 6 to 15, 1974, he met with So and Kim Yong-won several times and received printed materials of the league, which he later gave to Kim Jongdae for safe-keeping and reading. After the April 3 emergency measure, he assisted Yo Chongnam in hiding and escaping, while refusing to report to the investigation and intelligence authorities on his involvement with the league, thereby violating Emergency Measures No. 4.

5. Kim Yong-won, 39, formerly a school teacher.

A Communist affiliated with the new defunct People's Revolutionary Party, the defendant conferred with codefendant Yi Chu-byong at the Yajasu tearoom several times during the period from the early part of October 1972 to an undisclosed date of January 1973, receiving from him a notebook containing Kim Il-sung's report to the fifth national convention of the Workers' Party. He agreed with Yi on the necessity of training the main force which would play the leading role in overthrowing the government through a violent mass uprising in accord with the north Korean tactics against south Korea and establish a Communist state.

Internal Disturbance

Enlisting cooperation from Pak Chung-il, Kim Tai-su, Yu Ching-gon, Kim Jong-dae, Hwang Hyon-sung, and Yi Chang-man, he organized three secret teams of saboteurs in which he discharged his duty as a leading member, thereby conspiring an internal disturbance.

From January to April 1974, he received training from Yi Chu-byong at his home and provided him with an operational fund of 185,000 won for use in organizing the Democratic National Students-Youth League with a view to establishing a Communist regime through a violent revolution. After the April 3 emergency measure, he continued to meet Yo Chongnam and provided him with printed matters of the league for dissemination among its functionaries. In addition to preparing an internal disturbance, he violated Emergency Measures No. 4.

6. Ya Chong-nam, 29, unemployed, has been on bail following a ruling of the Taegu District Court after being arrested on charges of having violated the Anti-Communist Law in 1971. In anticipation of establishing a Communist regime he was dropped from school for taking a leading part in demonstrations against the Korea-Japan Talks in 1965. He was a behind-the-scenes manipulator during the demonstrations against campus military training and formulated a proclamation for saving the nation from dictatorship, as well as instigating anti-Yushin and antigovernment demonstrations in and around Kyongpuk University after being educated as a Communist by Yi Chae-mun, unapprehended former member of the Peo-

ple's Revolutionary Party (PRP), and Ha Chae-wan, while living in Ha's house as a tutor in July, 1969.

He listened to radio lectures of the Kim Il-sung College and read a copy of the report Kim Il-sung produced at the 5th Workers' Party Convention on the annual projects for Communist works. After he won over the defendants Yi Kang-chol, Yim Kyu-yong, and Chung Hwa-yong, to expand the Communist cell, the defendant came to Seoul at the instruction of Ha Chae-wan on Dec. 24, 1973, and joined Yi Chu-byong and then made contact with defendants Yi Chol and Yu In-tae through Yi Kang-chol.

Rumor of Crisis

He Chae-wan emphasized to him that the opportune time had arrived to establish a pro-Communist government with the social disturbance accruing from rumors concerning a "March or April crisis" which was stimulated by the campus disturbances since Oct. 2, 1973, and the oil pinch. Under instructions given by Ha, Yo Chongnam discussed the new school semester demonstration with Yi Chol and Yu In-tae and brainwashed the two with communism, exhorting them to take part in the April student violent uprising aimed at the establishment of a Communist government. He also gave instructions on student demonstrations and methods of communication among the Communist elements in accordance with Communist revolutionary theory.

Hending out instructions on formal problems of the student revolutionary strength to the two defendants, he reported his achievements to Ha Chae-wan to receive new orders. Thus leading an anti-government clique, Yo had a series of meetings with Yi Chol, Yu In-tae, and An Hyong-no between April 4 and April 23 and concluded that an armed take charge of Seoul and Cholla Namdo and he himself the Kyongpuk and Pusan Universities in projects concerning reorganization of the clique structures for execution of a national uprising in violation of the Presidential Emergency Measures.

Revolutionary Elements

Wu Hong-sun, 44, unemployed, former founding member of the People's Revolutionary Party, was a dedicated Communist, seeking desperately to recruit revolutionary elements for the construction of a socialist state. Mistaking the campus unrest in October 1973 and the rumors of the March Crisis as a prime opportunity for the construction of a Communist state, the defendant convened a meeting with the defendants Yi Chu-byong, Chon Chang-il, and Yi Sung-jae at a tearoom in Chungjong-ro 1-ga, Seoul, in October 1973, and predicted that the international and domestic situation would deteriorate into turmoil and confusion. Taking advantage of this opportunity, revolutionary elements should be mustered and organized to transmute the popular uprising into a Communist revolution. They decided that revolutionary elements should be organized in secret cells, and the leading committee members would be To Ye-chong and So To-won, thus organizing the four-man leader system, which was an antistate organization.

The above four committee leaders and defendant Kim

Han-dok met several times at a tearoom in Seoul up to March 1974, and agreed to organize the Democratic National Students-Youth League for the overthrow of the government and for the construction of a Communist state, and mobilize their cells to support and lead the uprising into a riot, occupying government organizations and buildings, thereby overthrowing the government and constructing a socialist state. To achieve the above objective, they agreed to join the National Unification Promotion Committee, and recruit their cells, thus discussing the ways and means for overthrowing the government and insurgents, and organizing an antistate organ for the preparation of their subversive scheme. Actively leading the subversive organ and neglecting to report the information of the Democratic National Students-Youth League to the authorities, the defendant violated the Presidential Emergency Measures.

7. Son Sang-jin, 45, beekeeper, former member of the People's Revolutionary Party, took notes, together with defendant Ha Chae-wan, of Kim Il-sung's report to the central committee at the fifth north Korean Workers' Party meeting in Pyongyang, in February 1972, and used the notes as training materials for the defendants Cho Man-ho and Yi Chae-hyong. At the end of 1973, he mistook the campus and political unrest as the opportune time for overthrowing the government and the construction of a Communist state, and consulted defendant Ha Chae-wan on the student demonstrations, and met several times with defendant Chon Chae-kwon and Yi Tae-hwan, slandering the Yushin Constitution and the Presidential Emergency Measures of Jan. 8. He received 80,000 won from Chon Chae-kwon twice, and 50,000 won from Yi Tae-hwan, totaling 130,000 won, as an operation fund for student demonstrations and headed this money to Ha Chae-wan, thus helping and instigating the student uprising at Kyongpuk University.

His organization of the antistate organization, and his subversive schemes, coupled with his neglect to report to the authorities the information and the activities of the DNSYL, violated Presidential Emergency Measure No. 4.

Seditious Materials

8. Chon Chang-il, alias Chon Chul-ku, 52, a business employee, read books on the principles of communism, he wrongly believed that the construction of a Communist state is the only desirable way for prosperity by indulging himself in the reading of seditious books.

Recruiting sympathizers who shared his ideology, Chon met with the accused Wu Hong-sun, Yi Chu-byong and Yi Song-jae last October. In the meeting they decided to form an organization to spearhead the construction of a Communist state by winning over sympathizers to join the organization.

They also resolved to select the accused To Ye-chong and So To-won as the organization's consultants and reached an agreement that the organization would be headed by the four foundation members who had a meeting to form the organization.

They thereafter built up an antigovernmental organization and the consultants held four meetings from January to

March, in which they decided to lead student demonstrations in a move to topple the democratic government and eventually construct a Communist government.

The motion to constitute the National Students Association was accepted by the members unanimously. The association would undertake a student revolt to overthrow the government. They also decided to use private organizations of the accused to the fullest extent to support the activities of the association.

The four members including Chon also decided to instigate demonstrating students into mobsters who would occupy government buildings to overthrow the present democratic regime and finally help the establishment of a Communist state.

For this purpose, Chon agreed to the proposal made by the accused Wu Hong-sun that the organization of the association be amalgamated into the National Unification Acceleration Committee to win over the members of the committee.

Chon engaged in the concrete discussion to overthrow the democratic government by plotting civil disturbance and commotion. He played the leading role in the antigovernment organization and slandering the Constitution of the Republic of Korea.

Chon violated the Presidential Emergency Measures No. 1 and No. 4 proclaimed April 3 because he did not report the subversive activities of the Democratic National Students-Youth League (DNSYL) to the investigation authorities.

10. Kim Jong-dae, 37, owner of a private academy, met with the accused Yi Chul-pyong in October 1972 in the meeting Yi handed over to the accused Kim the report that Kim Il-sung read at the fifth convention of the Workers' Party in north Korea.

The accused Kim indulged in the reading of the subversive report and received ideological training from Yi, who finally succeeded in winning over Kim and had many meetings with Kim.

Last November Kim Jong-dae, Yi Chang-pok, Hwang Hyon-sung and Kim Yong-won met at Kim Yong-won's house and decided to struggle for the construction of a Communist state by forming underground cells.

Kim played a leading role in the antigovernment organization. In the early part of last April, Kim met with Yi Chul-pyong and Hwang Hyon-sung to plot the construction of a Communist state.

Subversive Leaflets

Kim devoted himself to spreading subversive leaflets published by the DNSYL and relayed to him by Yi Chul-pyong. After that Kim lauded and instigated the April 3 revolt from the antigovernment organization, thereby violating the Presidential Emergency Measures.

11. Hwang Hyon-sung, 39, a teacher, joined the People's Revolutionary Party, with defendants Kim Yong-wan, Yi Chang-bok, Kim Chong-dae, for the construction of a Communist state, in November 1973, and decided to form a secret organization and fight for the overthrow of the government. Until March 22, 1974, he met frequently with the secret cells, and on April 6, 1974, he met with Kim Yong-wan at a tearoom near Citizens Hall to read the pam-

phlets issued by the DNSYL, and praised the activities of the organ, thus violating the Presidential Emergency Measures.

12. Yi Chang-bok, 36, jobless, took lessons on communism in early August, 1973, from Kim Yong-won after being introduced to him through another defendant Kim Chong-tae.

In November, 1973, Yi plotted to establish a Socialist state at a meeting, in the house of Kim Yong-won, which was attended by Hwang Hyon-sung, Kim Chong-tae and Kim Yong-won. He assumed the post of leader by setting up an antigovernment organization, for underground anti-government struggles, which was divided into three classes. (In the first group were Kim Tai-su, Yu Ching-gon and Pak Chung-il; in the second Kim Yong-won, Kim Chong-tae and Yi Chang-bok; in the third group Kim Yong-won, Hwang Hyon-sung and Yi Chang-bok.)

Until March 22, 1974, Yi Chang-bok continued to meet with his group members and, at last, received printed materials of the DNSYL around April 7, 1974 at his house meeting in which Hwang Hyon-sung and Kim Yong-won participated.

He, too, violated the Presidential Emergency Measures by supporting the DNSYL activities.

(To Be Continued)

THE KOREA HERALD,
WEDNESDAY,
MAY 29, 1974

The following is the second and last part of unofficial translation of a summary of indictments against 54 persons who were involved in the case of the National Democratic Students-Youth League. The prosecution Division of the Emergency Court martial indicted the 34 persons Monday. — Ed.

13. Kim Han-dok (42, brick manufacturer, former People's Revolutionary Party member).

Kim, who served one year in prison in 1934 for violating the Anti-Communist Law, collaborated with Yi Chu-byong, Woo Hong-sun and Yu Ching-gon to rally revolutionary elements between October 1973 and February 1974 in an attempt to topple the government for the establishment of a Communist regime.

14. Na Kyong-il (43, jobless, former south Korea liberation strategist).

The defendant was once sentenced to three years imprisonment with five years probation. Since November 1973, he plotted with Kang Chang-dok and Yi Chae-mun for the reorganization of the People's Revolutionary Party. They met in February 1974 and early in April 1974 to work out plans to oppose the Yushin (Revitalizing) Constitution, condemn the Jan. 8 presidential emergency decree and support north Korea's four-point formula for the peaceful reunification of the country.

Ex-Convict

15. Kang Chang-dok (43, jobless, former publicity chairman of the Kyongsang Pukto chapter of the Social Mass Party).

Kang, who was sentenced to a seven-year term in May 18, 1961, plotted with Yi Chae-mun and Na Il-gyong in November 1973 to reorganize the People's Revolutionary

Party and oppose the Yushin (Revitalizing) Constitution, favored north Korea's four-point reunification formula and did not fully inform the authorities concerned of his involvement in the Democratic National Students-Youth League.

16. Cho Man-ho (39, businessman, former Peoples' Revolutionary Party member).

The defendant agreed with Na Chae-wan and Yi Chae-hyong to organize the Peoples' Revolutionary Party in a meeting around October of 1972 and assumed the leading role. He read the business report of the Central Committee which was presented by north Korean puppet leader Kim Il-sung during the fifth Workers' Party convention. He devoted himself since then to the establishment of a Communist country in the south.

He met with Yi Chae-hyong at the latter's electricity appliances repair shop in Yongchon, Kyongsang Pukto, on April 16, 1974, to oppose the Yushin Constitution and Jan. 8 presidential emergency measures, and failed to report fully his direct and indirect involvement with the Democratic National Students-Youth League.

Antistate Group

17. Yi Chae-hyong (35, businessman).

He met with fellow defendants Na Chae-wan and Cho Man-ho around October 1972, and organized an antistate organization in order to accomplish a Communist revolution. He also read the business report presented by Kim Il-sung during the fifth plenary session of the north Korean Workers' Party.

Thus he placed himself in a leading role for communizing the south. In April 1974, he met with Cho Man-ho and condemned the Yushin Constitution and did not report the activities of the Democratic National Students-Youth League, thus violating the presidential emergency measures.

18. Chong Man-il (34, public bath business).

The defendant, who was sentenced to 10 year term in July 1961 in violation of a law governing specific crimes, conferred with Yi Chae-mun (not indicted) in Taeju around August 1969, and defendant Na Chae-wan around July 1969 over the establishment of a reactionary organization to overthrow the current government and placed himself in a leading role.

He spoke highly of report presented by north Korean puppet leader Kim Il-sung during the fifth conference of the Workers' Party when the report was shown to him by Na Chae-wan at his home around April 1974.

He abused the Jan. 8 presidential emergency measures in the presence of Na Chae-wan (not indicted) and others in Jan. 15, 1974, and did not report the activities of the Democratic National Students-Youth League, thus violating the presidential emergency measures.

19. Yim Ku-ho (26, language institute instructor).

The defendant, who was sentenced to a six-month term with two years probation on Jan. 11, 1973, met with codefendant Na Chae-wan and Yo Chong-nam in March 1973, joined an antistate organization in order to topple the government to be replaced by a Communist regime, praised the report made during the fifth plenary conference of

the north Korean Workers' Party, plotted a rebellion, accused the Yushin Constitution in the presence of Chong Hwa-yong in March 1974 and did not report the activities of the Democratic National Students-Youth League, consequently violating the presidential emergency measures.

20. Yi Tach-wan (48, representative of the Chongji Co. in Kyongsang Pukto).

Yi, who was sentenced to a two-year imprisonment in September 1949 for his involvement in the Munhak Tongmaeng (Literary League), a subordinate organ of the Workers' (Communist) Party, plotted with codefendant Song Sang-jin to overthrow the government by utilizing student demonstrations. He offered 50,000 won in cash to Song for use in the student demonstrations.

21. Chon Chae-kwon (46, former Workers' Party member).

Alpinist Club

Chon, who became a member of the Workers' Party in September 1949, was sentenced to a three-year term after he was arrested in 1950 in violation of the National Security Law, organized the Alpinist Club in 1970. While climbing mountains, they agreed to establish a Communist country in the south, organized an antistate group with Chon as the leading figure and presented 50,000 won to Song Sang-jin, an convict, for use in the establishment of a Communist government in the wake of the planned student demonstration.

He again offered 10,000 won to Song in March 1974 for the same purpose. When Song told him at the soccer field of Taeju's Talsong Park on April 22, 1974, that he had to flee in connection with the student league, he gave Song 3,000 won as pocket money, thus helping the projected rebellion and failed to report the student league activities to the authorities concerned.

22. Yoshiharu Hayakawa (Japanese, 37, college instructor).

The defendant entered the Japanese Communist Party in September 1963 and served as a cell member in the Eto area. He received an order from two Japanese Communist members—Yasuzaku Toishi and Aki Kozima—in March 1971 to enter the Republic of Korea, cooperate with the underground Communist movement and help communization activities of the Republic of Korea.

Disguising himself as a Japanese student studying abroad, he entered the Republic of Korea on May 5 of the same year, studied Korean language at Dankook University and Language Research Institute of Seoul National University and became an instructor at the Kyonggi College in 1972.

Japanese Meet

He met Masaki Tachikawa, whom he had known through an introduction by a classmate at the "Garden Tower" restaurant across from the Tonghwamun Gate on Dec. 23, 1973, and found out that Tachikawa entered the Republic of Korea at the instruction of Kwak Dong-ul, a core member of Chochongnyong, a pro-Communist Korean residents group in Japan, to instigate the antigovernment student demonstration in the Republic of Korea.

He agreed to introduce stu-

dent demonstration leaders to Tachikawa and subsequently arranged a meeting with codefendants Yi Chol and Yu In-tae at his home in the Chongnung Apartment House (Room No. 106, Ward No. 1) in Chongnung-dong, Songbukku, on Dec. 25, 1973.

After hearing the hot program featured by attacking the police with privately made explosives, pieces of ladders and stones to break the police defense line at a mass to occupy the Capitol building, presidential residence and other major government organization through bloody revolt, the defendant encouraged the attendants by saying, "I, being a Communist, am eager to have the Republic of Korea communized. What you've planned is the only way to topple the current government. I'll raise the international public opinion. I wish you'll be successful," thus helping the cause of the north Korean Communists and fanning a rebellion.

On Jan. 27, 1974, he met codefendant Yu In-tae at the Crown Bakery in Kwanghwamun, Chongnong, and accused the presidential emergency decrees. He, together with Masaki Tachikawa, again met Yu In-tae at 5 p.m. on mid-March 1974, at the Nanyang Inn located at Suha-dong, Chungju, heard from him about the student uprising planned for April 3 engineered by the National Democratic Students-Youth League and wished them success by making a monetary donation.

Instigated Plan

Despite his knowing about the contents of decree No. 4 of the presidential emergency measures as he listened to the announcement at 11 p.m., April 3, 1974, at his home, the defendant did not report the facts that he met with Yu In-tae, instigated the plan to overthrow the present government and delivered materials of the student organization to Masaki Tachikawa.

Thus, he committed activities other than what have been permitted by the justice minister between May 5, 1971 and April 5, 1974.

23. Masaki Tachikawa (22, Japanese, free-lance writer).

Masaki Tachikawa, Communist-inclined since his school days, has aspired for a Communist regime in the place of the present government of the Republic of Korea. In mid-September 1973, he contacted Kwak Tong-ul, a secret organizer of the Chosen Soreo in Tokyo, who informed him that there had been moves among Korean students to overthrow the present government. Kwak told him to travel to the Republic of Korea under the guise of collecting news materials. Kwak then wanted him to meet, encourage and instigate the Korean student leaders involved and find out the sort assistance he might be able to extend to them.

Tachikawa entered Korea on Dec. 10, 1973 in a tourist visa. He was introduced to Yi Chol and Yu In-tae by Masaharu Hayakawa, whom he knew before. He met with Yi Chol and Yu In-tae at the residence of Hayakawa from around 8 p.m. on Dec. 25, 1973. The two Korean students told him that they had been working to touch off a popular revolt through a violent student uprising across the country to topple the present government for the establishment of a Communist regime in its place.

Blood Revolt

Tachikawa consented with them, saying: "I am in the same trend of thought. There is no other way to overthrow the present government. The tree of freedom will grow faster when fertilized with blood. Have you attained helmets and masks to be used during demonstrations?" He thus encouraged them for a violent revolution. He got together with them again at the Nanyang Yungwan (inn) at Suha-dong, Chungju, Seoul, from around 11 p.m. on Dec. 27, 1973 to continue discussion on their plans for a violent revolution. This time, Tachikawa said on his own that he would seek playups in the Japanese press so as to enlist the support of international opinions and would arrange the purchase of weapons through Communist north Korea. He also proposed contacts between the student leaders involved and Japanese Communist forces.

In mid-January 1974, Tachikawa reported what he had found out in the Republic of Korea to Kwak Tong-ul at the Riviera Tearoom near the Shukan Gendai Weekly Company building in Tokyo. In mid-March 1974, Kwak told him that things appeared to take a difficult turn in the Republic of Korea. He was then instructed to hurry back to Korea, watch and encourage the development of the violent revolution promoted by students and see how he could help them.

Tachikawa reentered the Republic of Korea on March 31, 1974. He contacted Masaharu Hayakawa and Yu In-tae, both mentioned above, on April 2, 1974. They criticized the presidential emergency measures proclaimed on Jan. 8, 1974. He heard from Yu that students of colleges and universities in Seoul and other cities will rise up in a spontaneous violent demonstration on April 3. He was briefed on the organization of the Democratic National Students-Youth League and read the printed matters the organizers had prepared. On this occasion, he gave Yu In-tae a sum of money for activity funds.

Around 3 p.m. on April 3 at the aforementioned inn in Seoul, Tachikawa received eight copies of printed documents of the Democratic National Students-Youth League from Yu In-tae and Masaharu Hayakawa. The papers included three copies of "The Declaration," another three copies of "The Voice of the Public," and one copy of "A Letter to the Intellectuals, Journalists and Religious Leaders."

Failed to Report

When the Presidential Emergency Measures No. 4 was proclaimed, he not only criticized it but violated it by failing to report to the investigative agencies concerned his direct and indirect relations with the Democratic National Students-Youth League. As mentioned above, he has conducted activities unbecoming to the status under which he had entered the nation without the permission of the minister of justice.

24. Kim Yong-il (also known as Kim Chi-ha), (23, poet).

Kim Yong-il has been indicted on the charge of violating the Anti-Communist Law in connection with his poem called "O Chok" (The Five Thieves). For another verse entitled "Pio" (The Rumor), he has been investigat-

ed on suspicion of violating the same law with a stay of indictment.

Kim met Cho Yoong-nae, who was once convicted of conspiring for a revolt (and who has not been indicted this time), telling him that the backing of a nationwide student organization would be necessary in order for students to be able to oust the present government by means of student demonstrations in March and April. Kim agreed with Cho to raise funds for them and relay the money to them through him.

Supplied Funds

Kim supplied a total of 1,080,000 won on four different occasions. Out of the sum, he provided 900,000 won through Cho Yoong-nae on two occasions, and 180,000 won through Kim Un-hye also on two occasions. Among the accused, he contacted Yi Chol, Yu In-tae, So Chung-sok, and Ao Chae-ung on about 10 occasions to encourage them to carry out the insurgent plans. He has also failed to report to the intelligence and investigative authorities concerned his connections with the Democratic National Students-Youth League.

25. Kim Hyo-sun (21, unemployed, graduate of Seoul National University College of Liberal Arts and Sciences).

While going to the Seoul National University College of Liberal Arts and Sciences, Kim Hyo-sun had major roles in antigovernment student demonstrations and published an underground newspaper in protest against the government.

Early in December 1973, along with Yi Chol, Kim planned student demonstration to be carried out in the new semester. They agreed that the present government had to be deposed by means of a violent revolution. He met about 10 times with his co-conspirators such as Yu In-tae, So Chung-sok, Yi Kun-song, Chong Min-hwa, and Na Pyong-sik to conspire over the planned demonstrations.

He has recruited some 10 students, including Kwon Man-hak and Choe Pyong-du, to use in organizing demonstrations at the level of colleges of Seoul National University. He continued his role in the plot after his graduation from the school in the spring of the present year, expanding student organization.

Kim wrote texts for a total of 13 revolutionary songs, including "Crows, don't fly over the dead bodies crying," to be sung in the inauguration of the public during the student demonstrations starting March 23. He gave them to Yi Kun-song to publish in the printed documents of the Democratic National Students-Youth League.

He has thus prepared for an insurrection, played a leading role in an antistate organization he had helped organize, and failed to report the above to the investigative and intelligence agencies.

26. Yu Kun-il (37, editorial writer of the Joong-Ang Ilbo). Sentenced to a 15-year imprisonment on Sept. 30, 1961 for

violating the Extraordinary Law for the Violations of Specified Crimes, Yu Kun-il served seven years in prison. He was first informed of the Democratic National Students-Youth League's plan to stage a violent uprising for an insurrection late in January 1974, from Na Pyong-sik. He ex-

pressed his opinion that there is no other way to drive the present government out of power than bloody revolt.

Yu met with Na Pyong-sik on a number of occasions during the period from Feb. 27 and March 9 to exchange views on the rebellious plans and explained to him the current activities of the press. He was told that demonstrations would start at the three traffic-jammed areas in Seoul—fifth street of Chongno, Sinchon, and the Taewang Corner (a department store) at Chongvanchi—in late March, 1973. Yu was further told that demonstrators would break the police cordons by force.

He suggested that a caretaker ruling body be established after the removal of the present government and that a national leadership be set up with Communist sympathizing forces. He failed to report such activities as mentioned above to the agencies of investigation.

27. Yi Hyon-bae (30, lecturer at the Sangnok Hagwon Institute, student of the Seoul National University Graduate School).

In 1968, Yi was sentenced to a verdict of two years in prison with a stay of execution for three years for violating the Anti-Communism Law. He has also been convicted of violating laws concerning public meetings and demonstrations.

Youth Leader

He began to meet So Sang-geon, his junior in the same school, and Yu In-tae and Na Pyong-sik, both leaders of the Democratic National Students-Youth League, in the middle part of October 1973. He encouraged them saying that the government should be thrown out of office by a large scale demonstration in March and April, when the new semester starts.

During the period between Feb. 15 and March 23, 1974, he met with So Chung-sok, a leader of the Democratic National Students-Youth League, at various places in Seoul on five occasions to further stress that a nationwide violent student demonstration should be launched in March or April. He emphasized that the present government should be overthrown by means of force and in its place a Communist regime should be established.

He has thus assisted them to inaugurate the Democratic National Students-Youth League, an anti-state organization aimed at leading a national insurrection. In addition, he attempted to set up a 10-man council as a transient people's coalition body following the overthrow of the present government. None of the above mentioned activities were reported by him to the authorities concerned.

28. Chong Sang-bok (31, member of the Korea Christian Student Association, staff member of the Democratic National Students-Youth League's Central Regional Chapter).

Chong met Na Pyong-sik, a member of the Democratic National Students-Youth League, several times between March 5 and 18, 1974. After being informed of the details of the planned revolt against the government, he was asked if he would be able to furnish Na with 200,000 to 300,000 won.

Meeting Place

He raised a sum of 300,000 won through An Chae-ung, a

cosuspect, and gave it to Na Pyong-sik on the 18th of the same month at a tenroom in Namyeong-dong, Seoul. In cooperation with Yi Chik-hyong, a cosuspect, furnished an additional fund of 50,000 won. He nevertheless did not turn himself into the intelligence and investigative agencies as required by the Presidential Emergency Measure despite his contacts with and his supply of funds to Na Pyong-sik.

29. Yi Chik-hyong (37, general affairs chief of the General Federation of Korean Christian Student Associations).

Yi Chik-hyong opposed the Yushin Constitution by publishing an article in "the KSCF Newsletter" of the General Federation of the Korean Christian Student League, which had been authored by So Chung-sok (who is not indicted this time) in opposition to the new Constitution.

He learned of the planned violent uprising against the government from Na Pyong-sik, a member of the Democratic National Students-Youth League at his place of residence on March 11, 1974. He was asked for two million won to use in organizing the revolt by Na. On the following day, he and Chong Sang-bok prepared 50,000 won and handed it over to Nam Pyong-sik at a tearoom on the fifth floor of the Shinsegye Department Store around 5 p.m. the same day, expressing hope that they would succeed in their planned rebellion.

He has thus aided and abetted in an insurgent scheme and failed to report his connection, direct and indirect, with the Democratic National Students-Youth League to the authorities concerned.

30. An Chae-ung (35, a staff member of the General Federation of Korean Christian Student Associations in charge of the Ronam, Cholla Pukto and Cholla Namdo, District).

Revolt Details

An Chae-ung was informed of the details of the Democratic National Students-Youth League's plan for an insurrection from Hwang In-song, a leading member of the league, in the office of the General Federation of Korean Christian Student Associations between August 1973 and March 1973. He gave a total of 50,000 won to Hwang In-song who had asked for it for use in the planned revolt.

On March 13, 1974, Chong Sang-bok told him that Na Pyong-sik, a member of the Democratic National Students-Youth League, was in need of 200,000 to 300,000 won for the violent uprising. He furnished Na Pyong-sik with the fund and expressed hope that he would succeed in the demonstrations on March 18.

On two occasions between March 26 and 29, he stimulated Ho Chong-hyon and other members of the General Federation of Korean Christian Student League to touch off simultaneous anti-government demonstrations at the Chonbuk National and Choson Universities on Easter (April 11). He has also been opposed to the Yushin Constitution.

He did not, however, report his contacts with and element of the Democratic National Students-Youth League to the authorities concerned.

31. Na Sanggi (26, board director of the General Federation of Korean Christian Student Associations).

At a meeting with So Chung-sok (not indicted) and Yi Kwang-il at the former's house on Jan. 30, 1974, Na Sanggi agreed to use the federation's public lecture program to instigate anti-government sentiments in preparation for a student uprising in March or April. On Feb. 22, he had the federation sponsor a public lecture with three speakers under the theme of "The Japanese Aggressiveness in a Historical Perspective." Na deliberately intended to arouse anti-Japanese feelings among the public.

Nationwide Uprising

On Feb. 27, he contracted Chong Sang-bok at an inn in Chongnyong-dong, Seoul and agreed with him to organize student demonstrations at his alma mater, Sungjun University, for demonstrations after the nationwide uprising in March or April. On the following day, he discussed with Yi Kwang-il at the Hyangin Church in Myongdong, Seoul, the deposition of the present government.

On March 23, he criticized the Yushin Constitution while addressing about 20 students newly admitted in St. Michel Theological Seminar in Oryu-dong, Seoul. On the same day, he agreed with So Chung-sok to have seminarians hit the streets for demonstrations on Easter (April 11) in accordance with other college students participating in such activities. He did not report his anti-government activities to the authorities concerned.

32. Yi Chol (28, student of Seoul National University).

33. Yu In-tae (26, graduate of Seoul National University). Defendant Yi was arrested in July 1969 for leading a demonstration against a constitutional amendment providing for a third consecutive term for the president, but was later released. He subsequently joined the military and was reinstated in the university after his service.

Defendant Yu led a demonstration against the campus military drills Oct. 7, 1971, and was expelled from the university. He was later reinstated in the school.

Yi and Yu both harbored Communist ideology. After the Oct. 2, 1973, student demonstrations, they attempted to overthrow the Yushin (Revitalizing Reform) political system. In this attempt, they contacted students of the university separately and tried to include them in the anti-Yushin movement.

They worked on a plot to launch a nationwide organized demonstration in 1974 when the school began a new term.

The two defendants joined the signature-collecting move for revocation of the Yushin Constitution. The move began from the middle of December 1973. The two defendants came into contact with each other and found that they were sharing the same ideas and objectives.

They resolved Dec. 23 the same year to stage a violent nationwide student demonstration to topple the present government and establish a Communist regime. For this purpose, namely a violent revolution, they decided to organize a national student league, including college and high school students.

For the initial step of the move, they decided to strengthen the organization of the league,

The second stage called for aligning the league's move with foreign Communist elements. For this, they met with Yoshiharu Hayakawa, a Japanese Communist Party member who came to instigate student demonstrations, and with Masaki Tschikawa, another Japanese who came at the invitation of Kwak Dongui, organization member of the pro-Pyongyang Federation of Korean residents in Japan (Chuchongnyon).

Meetings took place three times between Dec. 24 and 26 the same year.

In the meetings, the two defendants confirmed that north Korea was willing to supply arms, that Japanese Communist elements would align with the league's move and that arrangements would be made to create international opinion and cooperation in favor of the league's activities.

At the same time the two received information on the methods and organization of demonstrations as well as other activities of Japanese leftist students. They were also instigated to start student violence for a Communist revolution.

Expand Party

On Dec. 30 the same year, the two defendants contacted Yo Jong-nam, who was visiting Seoul at the instruction of the People's Revolutionary Party to organize a nationwide student organization for the party. Yo was the chief student guidance member for the party.

Yo gave lessons to the two defendants on Communist ideology and was sympathetic to Communist ideas.

Yo brought the two into his fold and informed them of the principles of underground organization for violent uprisings, the so-called plural-line organization to stage follow-up demonstrations to the initial ones, the principle of dual contact methods for safety, infiltration methods for speedy organization and the method of operating the chief liaisons between the central and provincial areas.

After learning these principles, the two defendants visited the universities in Seoul beginning in January 1974. They also visited such areas as Chonju, Kwangju, Taegu, Pusan and Chunchon to create organizational bases for a nationwide student organization. The two contacted their codefendants Chong Mun-hwa, Na Byong-shik, Kim Byong-na, Hwang In-song, So Jung-sok, An Hyon-no, Chong Yung-gwang and Yi Kun-song. The two included the codefendants into their planned move and organized the Democratic Youth-Student League March 7, 1974 to carry out their objectives.

Defendant Yi Chol became the leader of the first-front demonstration. Defendant Yu In-tae decided to lead the second-front demonstration.

Defendant Yi Chol, as leader of the Democratic Youth-Student League, and Defendant Yu In-tae, as leading organizer of the second-front demonstration, organized an anti-state organization to stage an internal conflict.

Guidance Dept.

They also decided to organize a national guidance department with 10 pro-Communist and anti-government elements, as a transitional ruling

body for a Communist system after the toppling of the government.

They decided to manufacture Molotov cocktails and use them to break a police cordon in demonstrations. They let Hwang Sung-jin produce Molotov cocktails and conduct repeated experiments with the bombs. Hwang is not being prosecuted in this case.

Defendants Yi and Yu appointed codefendant Ku Chung-su as chief organizer of high school students and later met with high school students recommended by codefendant Ku.

In the meeting, Yi and Yu urged the high school students to join in the violent uprising planned for April 3.

The two defendants also agreed to let the demonstrators from all universities and other schools in Seoul gather at the City Hall Plaza and then let them seize major government offices for the toppling of the government.

They chose a place as a secret printing facility March 27, 1974 for printing materials to be distributed nationwide.

They printed materials containing such slogans as used by the north Korean Communists.

These slogans quote such terms as "Comprador Clans," "Prostitute Economic Structure," "Rise Up at the Decisive Moment," "Abolish the Anti-Communism and National Security Laws," and "Abolish the Homeland Reserve Forces."

They also printed materials using such phrases as "The Declaration of People, Nation and Democracy," "Words to Intellectuals, Clergymen and Press," and "Dear Working Masses! Rise Up."

These phrases are those used by the north Korean Communists. They let Yi Song-gun print several hundred thousand copies of these materials and distribute them to the nation's universities and high schools by April 3.

Go in Hiding

When President Park Chung Hee declared his Emergency Measures No. 4, defendants Yi and Yu hid in the lodging house of Yo Jong-nam, drafted a statement denouncing the emergency measures and plotted to print and distribute the statement, thus engaging in activities of organizing an anti-organization for an internal uprising.

34. Chong Mun-hwa (23, student of Seoul National University).

Defendant Chong was arrested in October 1973 in connection with a demonstration at the university's Liberal Arts and Sciences College. He was then charged with violation of the law governing illegal assemblies and demonstrations. Charges against him were dropped and he was released Dec. 7, 1973.

The defendant received information from codefendant Yu In-tae in the middle of January 1974 that codefendant Yi Chol and codefendant So Jung-sok were playing a leading role in organizing a nationwide student organization to overthrow the government through bloody violent student revolution.

He actively joined in the plan for the violent revolution and became the chief organizer of the move for Seoul National University, thus playing a leading role in the anti-state activities of the Democratic National Student-Youth League.

From the middle of January 1974, he met with 30 key members of the Democratic National Student-Youth League and representatives from other schools in Seoul on more than 50 occasions. They plotted to stage an internal conflict. Opposing the Yushu (Revitalizing Reform) Constitution, they met on three occasions with codefendants Yi Chol, Hwang In-song and Yi Song-gun between April 4 and 6.

Statement

This was after the government declared its Emergency Measure No. 4 April 3. In their meeting, they discussed writing a statement opposing the April 3 Emergency Measure No. 4.

The defendant met with codefendant Chong Yun-gwang for 20 minutes respectively on April 4 and 5 and they listened to north Korean radio broadcasts, thus sympathizing with north Korean activities.

35. Kim Byong-gon, 21, student of Seoul National University, the defendant led a demonstration of students of the university's College of Commerce Oct. 5, 1973. He opposed the capitalist economic system and support the Communist ideology.

He decided that students should rise nationwide move for stag violent demonstration, topple the present government and establish a Communist state.

He was informed by codefendant Chong Mun-hwa Feb. 23, 1974 that a nationwide demonstration aimed at toppling the government was being organized with codefendant Yi Chol as the central figure.

He met with codefendants Yi Chol and Hwang In-song March 8 the same year and he was given a mission as the first front leader of the Democratic National Student-Youth League's guidance department and as chief organizer of students in the universities in Seoul.

He discussed with the codefendants on more than 10 occasions details of staging violent revolution.

He included in the plot Yi Sang-he of the Kyunghee University, Song Mu-ho and Kim Yong-jun of Yonsei University, Kim Su-il of Sungkyunkwan University, Hwang Min-su and Pak Suk-yul of Soongsil University and Chang Woon-yong of Seoul National University College of Commerce. He appointed them as chief organizers of students at their schools.

He let codefendant Chang Ki-pyo draft a statement entitled "the Voice of the People" as they met March 15, 1974. He and codefendant Hwang In-song revised various draft materials to be printed for use April 3.

He then instructed Ma Dong-hun to print the revised drafts. Ma is not being prosecuted in this case.

The defendant thus plotted insurgency, organized the Democratic National Student-Youth League and acted as a key member of the organization.

After April 3, he did not report his involvement in the activities to the authorities.

36. Hwang In-song (21, SNU College of Liberal Arts and Sciences)

He was arrested in October last year on suspicion of demonstration against the Yushu Constitution. Hwang continued his anti-government struggle from early April last year by organizing a Korean

cultural studies association within the SNU College of Liberal Arts and Sciences.

After he agreed with the two codefendants, Yi Chol and Yu In-tae, in February, 1974, to organize the Democratic National Student-Youth League to overthrow the government by force and attempt a Communist revolution, Hwang enforced the organization of the league to infiltrate into the provincial colleges and universities.

As the organization head of the provincial universities and the SNU college, he contacted a total of 60 persons 80 times in Seoul, Taejon, Pusan and Kwangju by April 2, 1974.

He played a leading role in the anti-state organization of the league by providing it with supporting funds of 70,000 won for its activities to overthrow the government.

2,000 Leaflets

Despite the fact that he drew up and distributed some 2,000 leaflets of such league-issued materials as "Declaration" and "Voice of the People," he did not report to the investigation authorities the above facts by April 8 this year.

37. Ra Pyong-shik, 25, student of Seoul National University College of Liberal Arts and Sciences, was arrested for his leading role in student demonstrations against the Yushu (October Revitalizing Reform) Constitution in October 1973, has listened to north Korean broadcasts several times in his residence and aided with the north Korean propaganda activities since September 1973.

Learning the fact that Yi Chol and Yu In-tae were organizing the "National Democratic Student-Youth League" for a national uprising, Ra contacted Yi and Yu after Jan. 15, 1974. He was entrusted with an important role for bringing Christian societies into the uprising and for distributing printed materials on the campuses of Korea University and Kyunghee University on April 3—a 4-day for uprising.

He received an instruction from Yu Kun-il to form a leading national organization after toppling the incumbent government and received financial support totaling 450,000 won from Yi Chik-hyong, Kim Kyong-nam and Cho Yong-rae as operation funds for the National Democratic Students-Youth League.

After the Presidential Emergency Measures No. 4 were declared on April 3, Ra did not surrender to the authorities concerned within the amnesty period although he had distributed printed materials denouncing the presidential measures.

Nongmun-Hoe

38. So Chung-sok, 25, student of Seoul National University, who was readmitted to the school after being expelled for his leading role in various student demonstration as the leader of a student body called "Nongmun-hoe" he organized, contacted Yi Chol, Yu In-tae, Rae Pyong-shik, Yi Kun-song and An Yang-no several times since January 1973 to plot the strengthening of student organizations as a prelude for the violent April uprising.

In the five meetings with Yi Hyeon-bae, a lecturer of the Sangnok Private Teaching Institute, So was instigated by him to join in toppling the government through organized nationwide student demon-

strations and violent revolutionary measures such as bloody demonstrations.

During the early stages of the organization of the National Democratic Students-Youth League, he helped Yi Chol complete the organization and take a leading role in the organization.

So contacted college students until Jan. 29, 1973 for the expansion of the organization and did not report to the intelligence authorities his direct and indirect involvement in the league.

39. An Yang-no, 25, student of SNU College of Liberal Arts and Sciences, who masterminded the student demonstration at the college in October 1973 and staged antigovernment activities to realize his Communist ideas, met Yu In-tae in the latter part of December 1973.

Hearing from Yu that a nationwide student organization was being formed to overthrow the government, he promised his active support to the organization and further proposed to Yu that the organization should include not only students but also laborers. He also expressed his willingness to assume the responsibility for a second organization which should be necessary in case the first demonstration failed.

Collect Data

An met 10 leading members of the student organization including Yu more than 10 times from early in January this year to March to collect data for the formation of printed materials and to study methods of producing Molotov cocktails to be used in the uprising.

At the time of the inauguration of the National Democratic Student-Youth League March 7 this year, An was selected as the leader of the demonstration.

He did not surrender to intelligence authorities despite having played a leading role in the organization by meeting some 10 persons including Pak Sun-shik and bringing them into the second organization formed for the second demonstration.

An met 11 leading members of the organization 16 times during April 5-12 this year to raise the money needed for the formation of the second organization and to prepare statements denouncing the Presidential measures.

40. Yi Kun-song, 24, graduate of SNU College of Liberal Arts and Sciences, whose violation of the law governing illegal meetings and demonstrations in May 1971 is still pending in the court and who organized the student demonstration at SNU College of Liberal Arts and Sciences Oct. 12, 1973, joined the National Democratic Students-Youth League in January this year after learning Kim Hye-sun and others were working for the construction of a Communist state.

Yi met members of the league including Yi Chol, Chong Mun-hwa, Rae Pyong-shik, Yu In-tae and Kim Hye-sun and became a leading member of the league. Entrusted by Yi Chol with the responsibility for printed materials in March this year, he rented a house in Panghak-dong, Tongbu-gu, Seoul, collected data for making printed materials.

Printed Materials

With the data and four assistants including Ma Tong-chol, Yi printed manuscripts

of "the Declaration and Resolution," "the Voice of the People" and "the Words for Revolution Song" which Yi Chol, Kim Pyong-gon, Kim Hye-sun and Hwang In-song wrote from March to April this year and supplied the printed materials to Yi Chol, Kim Pyong-gon, Hwang In-song, Chong Mun-hwa and Song Un-bak who were to distribute them to college students throughout the nation.

After the student uprising they plotted ended in failure, Yi met Yi Chol, Chong Mun-hwa and Hwang In-song to confirm the need for producing a statement denouncing the Presidential Emergency Measures No. 4. In the meeting, he took the job of preparing the statement. Yi met Chong Chan-yong April 6 this year to give a draft of the statement to him and entrusting him with the job of printing the statement.

He further met An Yang-no and conspired to print the denunciation and continued his activities of printing the statement at a house in Tap-simni-dong, Tongdaemun-gu, Seoul.

41. Chong Yun-kwang, 27, a student, SNU Liberal Arts and Sciences College, met Yi Chol, conspiring to incite and recruit students of the Seoul National University (SNU) in tea-rooms near the SNU campus since December 1973. He became an adviser to Yi who was in overall charge of recruiting college students for the National Democratic Students-Youth League for their plotted uprising on April 3.

He met on 30 different occasions with about 20 college students in preparation for a bloody revolution and to denounce the Constitution.

Through three meetings with the masterminds behind the league, including Yi Chol and Chong Mun-hwa, the defendant conspired to distribute printed matter against the proclamation of the Presidential Emergency Measures.

He purposely avoided informing the intelligence authorities on the subversive league and listened to north Korean broadcasts for 20 minutes on two occasions on April 4 and 5 with Chong Mun-hwa to be in line with north Korean activities.

42. Kang Ku-chol, 20, student of the SNU Liberal Arts and Sciences College.

The defendant agreed to establish the league with subversive aims in his meetings with Yi Chol and Ahn Yang-no who are under indictment. To support the national subversive scheme of the league, he assumed the area leadership in Chungchong Namdo and Chungcheong Pukto for the anti-state organ to win over college as well as high school students in the area.

Through some 50 meetings with about 30 students in his area, he decided to print about 900 leaflets on April 9 to demand the rescinding of the April 3 emergency measures. He purposely avoided informing the relevant authorities of the anti-national designs.

Furthermore, the defendant was once arrested in connection with his part in a demonstration last October against the Yushu Constitution.

43. Ku Yun-so, 19, student of Tankuk University in Seoul. He accepted an offer on March 5 from Yi Chol to become a head operative for recruiting high school students in Seoul to side with the planned uprising against the incumbent government.

In his contacts with the of-

ficers of the Kyonggi Boys High School student body and other Seoul high schools, he passed printed matter which bore such subversive titles as the Declaration of the People, Race, and Democracy, the Voice of the People, and Letters to Intellectuals, Journalists and Religious leaders.

Recruit Students

He assiduously implemented activities for the league by denouncing the Constitution without telling the proper intelligence organs about the subversive acts.

44. Yi Kang-chol, 26, jobless, conspired to recruit college students in Taeju through his meetings with Yo Chong-nam at a bar in Soongsil-myun, Taean County, Kyongsang Pukto on Feb. 1, 1974.

He also met with other masterminds behind the league and pledged his support by becoming a chief operative for the subversive league in Kyongpuk University to conduct activities to recruit students in other educational institutions in the area.

He attended meetings in Taejon of the league's officers to plot the national uprising in April. He also got in contact with Lim Kyu-yong to form the Hanpung Society which was to become a springboard for the uprising in the area.

The defendant toured Chochiwon, Kupo, and Pusan in an effort to plan the national revolt by meeting Hwang In-song, Yun Han-bong, chief operative for the Cholla area for the league.

He was also to lead an uprising on the campus on Kyongpuk University in an effort to create an atmosphere conducive to a large national revolt.

He continuously defamed the Constitution and the Presidential Emergency Measures No. 4 by joining the league and purposely refused to tell the relevant authorities about the abortive acts.

45. Chong Hwa-yong, 26, a student at Kyongpuk University, met the defendant Yu In-tae, who was expanding the league, through the introduction by the accused Yu Chong-nam, at a tavern in Talson-gu, Kyongsang Pukto, in February 1974, and plotted to organize a student league among the universities in Seoul, with Seoul National University serving as a nucleus, and in the Kyongsang provinces, with Kyongpuk University as a central force.

Tearoom Contacts

In tearooms in front of the Taejon Railway Station, he met with his accomplices to plot the overthrowing of the government by simultaneous and nationwide student uprisings during March and April, and won over Kim Chack-yu, a student at Yongsam University, as the action leader of the DNSYI at the university, on Feb. 17, 1974.

On March 18, he received, at a tearoom in Taeyong-dong, Taegu, the draft on the anti-dictator and saving democracy declaration, issued in the name of the anti-dictator and saving democracy struggle committee of Kyongpuk University, from Yu Chong-nam, and printed 2,000 copies of it at his house, together with Im Ky-yong, on March 20, and distributed the copies at Kyongpuk University with the help of the unaccused students Hwang Chul-sik, Chang Sung-paek and Kang Ki-ryong of Kyongpuk University, on

March 21, and also spread 21 copies of it each at Taegu High Commercial School and the High School annexed to Kyongpuk Teachers' College on March 22. He thus violated the Presidential Emergency Measures of Jan. 18, by plotting insurgency and neglecting to report his involvement in the DNSYL to the authorities.

46. Im Kyu-young, 21, student of Kyongpuk National University, was sentenced to serve a one-year prison term on charges of violating Martial Law and was prosecuted on Nov. 5 last year in violation of the law regulating rallies and demonstrations.

Im contacted his senior Yo Chong-nam, pro-Communist colleague, from around last March and Yo infused Im with ideological training on Communism from then on.

He plotted the construction of a Communist state that he believed was best to protect the interests of the labor farmer class best by overthrowing the democratic government at a ferry located in Sengso-myun, Talsong-gun, Kyongsang Pukto on Feb. 20 this year.

Kyongpuk Univ.

In the attempt to form an organization to realize his purpose, Im met the accused Yu In-tae, representative of Seoul National University for the subversive activity, and Im pledged to assume the responsibility of spearheading the subversion at Kyongpuk National University.

Im travelled four or five times to Mt. Sodan and Taejon in Chungcheong Namdo from Feb. 24 to plot the subversion secretly and thus played a leading role in the activities of the league.

Im had meetings more than 10 times with 10 colleagues including the accused Chong Young-hwa and Yi Kang-chol to mastermind the antigovernment demonstration at Kyongpuk National University March 21.

He is also charged with instigating public upheaval and criticizing the Revitalizing Reforms Constitution. Raising objection to the Presidential Emergency Measures No. 1, Im never disclosed his deep involvement in the activities of the league to the investigation authorities.

47. Kim Chong-hil, 22, jobless, who was on a three-year probation for violation of the National Security Law according to the court rule on Sept. 25, 1973, actively joined in the plot of the league, and operated behind the student demonstrations of Chonnam University, thus violating the Presidential Emergency Measures.

48. Yi Kang, 28, jobless, who received a three-year probation for his violation of the National Security Law, helped the activities of the DNSYL, and provided 9,000 won to help the defendant Kim Chong-hil, agent leader for the universities in the Cholla provinces, escape from arrest by police.

49. Yun Man-bong, 25, student at Chonnam National University, played a leading role in the subversive activities as the chief of the league's Chonnam University chapter having contacts with Yi Chong, Hwang In-sung, and Ra Pyong-shuk in planning the national students' bloody violence.

Defamed Yushin

Even after the Presidential Emergency Measures No. 4 were proclaimed, Yun masterminded student demonstra-

tions defaming the Constitution of the Republic as well as the emergency measure. He was charged with not having reported to the investigators his involvement in the league before the deadline of April 8.

50. Kim Yong-jun, 26, a student at Yonsei University, served as the agent leader of the league chapter at Yonsei University, and plotted a riotous uprising to overthrow the government and establish an interim government.

51. Song Moo-ho, 22, student of Yonsei University, plotted to topple the democratic government through bloody and violent revolution as a member of "Tongkot Club" in the university.

Song, in close cooperation with the accused Kim Yong-jun, also a student of Yonsei University, organized dozens of meetings to win over other clubs in the university and clubs in other universities from Jan. 12 this year to realize their plot to overthrow the government through a violent upheaval in the new semester.

On Feb. 21 this year, Song met with the accused Yu In-tae, Chong Mun-hwa and Hwang In-sung, all advisory members of the league and they agreed to form the National Student Demonstration Organization to overthrow the present government.

Song, as a leader of Yonsei University students demonstration, met many times with the accused Kim Pyong-kon, also advisory member of the league, to discuss the establishment of an interim government after overthrowing the present government by force.

He instigated some 2,000 students of Yonsei University who attended the chapel at the university's auditorium to join in antigovernmental demonstrations April 1 this year. He also abused and criticized the constitution of the Republic of Korea, and plotted and instigated public upheaval.

After the promulgation of the Presidential Emergency Measure of April 3, he did not report his direct and indirect connection with the DNSYL to the investigation authorities.

52. Kim Su-chul, 20, student of Songgyunwan University, indulged in reading books that are related to the detailed description of Communist principles and hoped for the establishment of a Communist state. Kim had the delusion that the establishment of a Communist government is possible through violent student demonstrations that started from last October.

In March this year Kim met with the accused Yi Chul, Kim Pyong-kon and Chong Mun-hwa, all advisory members of the league. At the meeting, he assumed the responsibility of manipulating the student demonstrations in Songgyunwan University as a member of the league to overthrow the government and completed the detailed organization chart for the demonstrations.

Kim also attended the representatives' meeting of the league held March 28 at Sanung Sepulcher located in Kumkok, Koyang-gun, Kyonggi-do, and joined in the confirmation of the basic guidelines for violent revolution.

With his deep involvement in the activities of the league, he engaged in exercising a leading role in the antigovernmental organization and assumed the role of spearheading the student demonstration

of the university on April 3 by preparing the proclamations of Songgyunwan University and the league at the peak of the demonstration.

He is charged with plotting civil unrest. He also criticized and abused the Constitution of the Republic of Korea. He did not disclose his charges of the direct and indirect relations with the DNSYL to the investigation authorities after the April 3 Presidential Emergency Measures.

53. Jo Kyong-suk, 27, jobless, graduated from Seoul Nation-

al University Engineering College and was indicted for his involvement in the Revolutionary Unification Party case on Oct. 7, 1968.

He provided 90,000 won for the operation funds of the league, and directed the unaccused Kang Yong-won, the student leader at the Choll Church, to organize the Korean Students Christian Federation for opposition to the Yushin Constitution and abolition of the Presidential Emergency Measures.

54. Yi Kwang-il, 24, a drop-

out from the Hankuk Seminary, former youth leader of the church federation, recruited 150 people in Taegu, Taegu, Pusan, Kwangju, Chongju, and Chonju, up to March 16, 1974 for the toppling of the government, and plotted the antigovernment demonstration in the name of a Japanese goods boycott and staged a hunger strike by 33 Christian students in opposition to the Yushin Constitution and for abolition of the Presidential Emergency Measures.

Analysis of 'Common Front'

The piece which follows does not deal specifically with the NDYSF but remains content with merely preparing the ideological ground. We reprint the piece here less to elicit wonder at the theoretical elegance of which ROK state propagandists are capable, than to show precisely what kind of political "awareness" the NDYSF-PRP case was meant to reinforce. As later events were to show, if evidence at times was to be found wanting, not so with anti-communist ideology, which could always be counted on to put to rest those lingering doubts by raising, yet again, the bogey of "communist subversives" in the midst of a "free social system" where "all grudges and dissatisfactions can be expressed openly and legally." Note that this piece, the second of two installments, happily coincides with the concluding portion of "Summary of 'League' Indictments," reprinted above, page 20.

Reds Urged to Drop Plot

The following article is written by Shin Sang-cho, professor of political science at Kyunghee University. This is the second half of the article. — Ed.

By Shin Sang-cho

First, it is to be pointed out that the balance of power among the four powers surrounding the Korean peninsula, especially the trend of seeking peaceful coexistence between the United States and the Soviet Union, between the United States and Communist China, and between Japan and Communist China, requires peaceful coexistence between south and north Korea in the present state of territorial division.

Under these circumstances, Kim Il-sung, however villainous he might be, may find it safe to give up his ambition

of communizing the Republic of Korea as a prelude to unification. However, he could maintain his one-man dictatorial rule only on the pretext of unifying the country under communism which he has repeatedly asserted he is able to achieve, and his abandonment of the ideology for communized unification would mean his political suicide. The most effective means for him to promote the cause of unification under communism without risking an armed conflict is to launch a political struggle in south Korea vigorously.

Second, the "common front" strategy is indispensable for launching the Communist political struggle in south Korea. Communism has lost all of its attractions in the Republic on account of the cruelty and barbarity unleashed by the

Communists during the Korean War, the strict precautions the south Korean people always keep against communism, and their hatred for it. This is the reason why the Communists, defining the objective of their struggle as "people's democratic revolution," are trying to incite an anti-government movement in the first place and an anti-system movement in the next place by mobilizing on a broad scale all persons who have grudges or are dissatisfied.

Third, as the Republic of Korea maintains a free social system, it is again to be pointed out, all grudges and dissatisfactions can be expressed openly and legally. This constitutes both a merit and a demerit of society. By capitalizing on this point, the Communists are attempting to in-

instigate a violent revolution by organizing dissatisfied elements into an unruly mob with a view in driving the Republic of Korea's government to an irrevocable disruption.

Student Uprising

As praised in the preamble to the Republic of Korea Constitution, the student uprising in April 1960 recorded a victory of belief in liberty as it fought and toppled a corrupt regime. It is a glorious tower in the history of the students' movement in Korea. On the other hand, however, it exposed the enervation and inability of the older generation of that time.

After the April 19, 1960, student uprising, student movements in this country came to assume a political nature to a remarkable extent, giving rise to the trend that the campus becomes restless in April every year.

Furthermore, some of our citizens who are loaded heavily with dissatisfaction hung their expectation for a reform on political movements of students. This being the situation, the mental attitude has come into being covertly that student movement, even though they run to the extreme, should be tolerated in society.

The Communists never fail to capitalize on this prevail-

ing attitude. Regretting their failure to do anything to instigate the April 1960 uprising into a socialist revolution, the north Korean Communists agitated our students under the slogan, "For Another April 19."

It is not surprising that the Communists gave clear consciousness of purpose and elaborate organization to sporadic and spontaneous student demonstrations with a view to inciting a large-scale anti-government, anti-system revolt. As most of our college students are from the upper social class, they evidently belong to a class the Communists consider their enemy.

Nevertheless, the Communists encourage our students to take the van in the anti-government struggle in order to accelerate the arrival of the moment conducive to communism of south Korea by utilizing their youthful fighting spirit and passion. It is too evident, however, that once the Communists have succeeded in materializing their aim in the anti-government and anti-system movement, they will kick them off like worn-out shoes and even arrest, imprison, and execute them as enemies of their class.

People's Revolution

What the Communists aspire to achieve in south Korea

is a "national democratic revolution" or a "people's democratic revolution" to borrow their jargon. That the former is an interim measure toward a "socialist revolution" can be eloquently proved by the fact that the "democratic revolution" in Russia in February 1917 was followed by the socialist revolution in October that year.

Unable to launch a proletarian socialist revolution at one stroke, the Communists prefer to go through the process of a nationalist or democratic revolution. This is because the Communists understand too well that they are unable to crush their opponents with their own strength.

In other words, the Communists cannot overthrow the existing government or social order without relying on support from other classes or political parties. Because of this inability, the Communists have to disguise their revolution as a nationalist or democratic one in the first place with a view to organizing the common front and mobilizing the non-Communist masses in a violent revolution.

It is like seeking fish in the woods to expect the Communists to accept democracy and put it into practice. Therefore it would be tantamount to digging our own graves if we accept a Communist offer for collaboration by falling a prey to their bait of fine

words such as liberty and democracy. We can find innumerable examples in the history of revolutions in the world's countries showing a ruinous outcome to non-Communists as a consequence of their falling a victim to fair speech of the Communists to form a common front.

When the Sino-Japanese War ended in 1945, Chiang Kai-shek and Mao Tse-tung concluded the October 10 agreement with a view to avoiding a civil war and building up the basis of peace in China.

A political organization known as the "Democratic League" came into being in areas controlled by the Nationalist Party. It consisted of splinter parties and independent politicians who were dissatisfied with Chiang's domestic policies. A kind of "common front," the Democratic League demanded democratization of domestic affairs. After the Nationalist-Communist truce agreement was broken, the league stubbornly objected to civil war.

True Nature

As the civil war grew fierce, however, the league finally began to unveil its true nature. Its hegemony was held firmly by Communists, while other members simply followed them blindly. After the civil war was over, Kuo Mo-jo who was the head of the league

and other Communist members were appointed to important government positions with the birth of the People's Republic of China; but its non-or anti-Communist members had to fade away.

The Democratic League of China gives us a precious lesson. It shows the real precedent that even non-Communists chimed in with Communists in the common front organized by the latter and were later doomed to bloody purges. This is typical of the Communist strategy.

Any age or any society is not completely free from dissatisfied persons. In modern Korea, overpopulation, shortage of social inheritance, traditional poverty and territorial division into and confrontation between the south and the north have produced a large number of people who are dissatisfied with reality. It is democracy that allows citizens to express their dissatisfied desire peacefully and in a legal manner and settle it rationally. We must prevent the dissatisfied desire from exploding into violence by positively promoting all democratic institutions to function properly and cementing the ties between the government and people closely.

The Communists believe only in one god — strength, or more aptly, "superiority in strength."

Emergency Measures NO.4

Text of the Presidential Emergency Measures No. 4 adopted at an extraordinary Cabinet meeting on April 3, 1974:

Article 1

It shall be prohibited for any person to organize or join the National Democratic Youth and Student Federation or any organization affiliated with it; to praise, encourage or sympathize with the activities of the said organization or its members; to assemble with its members or contact them by formal means of communication or by any other means; to provide a place, articles, money or any other accommodation for its members to help them hide, establish contact, or engage in other activities; or to participate directly or indirectly in the activities of the said organization or its members.

Article 2

It shall be prohibited for any person to publish, produce, possess, disseminate, exhibit or sell documents, books, phonographic records or any other means of expression concerning the activities of the said organization or its members.

Article 3

It shall be prohibited for any person to advocate, instigate or propagate any act or acts prohibited in Articles 1 and 2.

Article 4

Any person who has committed an act or acts prohibited in Articles 1 and 2 prior to the proclamation of this measure shall report in person and without concealment all the details of the said act or acts to the investigating and intelligence authorities not later than 8th April, 1974. Any such act or acts which have been reported in person shall be exempted from punishment.

Article 5

It shall be prohibited for any student to absent himself from school or refuse to attend classes or to take examinations without legitimate cause; to hold an assembly, demonstration, rally, or any individual or collective sit in, outside or inside the campus, except normal classes or research activities conducted under the guidance and supervision of the school authorities. However, customary non-political activities shall be excepted.

Article 6

It is prohibited for any person to advocate, instigate or propagate any act or acts prohibited in this measure or to communicate such act or acts to others through broadcasting, reporting, or publishing, or by any other means.

Article 7

The Education Minister is vested with authority to expel or suspend any student who has violated the presidential measure. He may dissolve student organizations or associations or any other student bodies or abolish the school or schools to which the students who have violated this presidential measure belong. The Education Minister shall make provisions concerning the abolition of such schools.

Article 8

Any person who violates Articles 1 to 6, any person who violates measures taken by the Education Minister under Article 7, or any person who defames this measure shall be punishable by death, life imprisonment or imprisonment for not less than five years. In cases of penal servitude, suspension of civil rights may be imposed concurrently. Any person who violates Articles 1, 3, 5 or 6 shall be punished even if he committed an un consummated offense or merely planned a conspiracy.

Article 9

Any person who violates this measure shall be subjected to arrest, detention, search or seizure without warrant and tried and punished by the Emergency Court-Martial.

Article 10

The prosecuting officers of the Emergency Court-Martial may order reversion to the State Treasury of any documents or articles of a person who violated the presidential measure even when (...).

Article 11

When the Mayor of the Special City of Seoul, the Mayor of Pusan, or any provincial governor requests the dispatch of troops to maintain peace and order, the regional military commander shall comply with the request and provide such support.

Article 12

This measure shall be effective from 2200 hours (local time) on 3rd April, 1974.

POLITICAL REPRESSION IN SOUTH KOREA

Report of Commission
to
SOUTH KOREA
for
AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL

By William J. Butler,
United Nations representative of the International Commission of Jurists;
Vice President of the American Association for the ICJ;
Chairman of the Committee on International Human Rights of the
Association of the Bar of the City of New York;
and Counsel to The International League for the Rights of Man, Inc.

IV. NATIONWIDE PROTESTS FOR CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGE AND THE EMERGENCY DECREES: A CASE OF PREEMPTIVE OVERKILL

In October 1973, a nationwide protest started when students of the Seoul National University staged a series of demonstrations calling for an end to "fascist rule." There developed a substantial movement among intellectuals, intelligentsia, students, opposition politicians, and many businessmen for a change in the autocratic power of the government. Tens of thousands of students struck and boycotted classes in an effort to change the oppressive political measures of the Park regime which stifled all political activity except that supporting the government. What they were asking for was simply a return of democratic freedom.

In an attempt to pacify this groundswell of opinion, on December 3, 1973, Park replaced 10 of his 20 ministers and ousted Lee Hu Rak as Chief of the powerful KCIA.

This, however, did not silence his opposition, and on December 13, a group of 15 prominent statesmen—among them Yun Po Sun, former President of the country; Yu Chin Oh, former President of Seoul University; Stephen Cardinal Kim, the leader of the million South Korean Roman Catholics; and Reverend Kim Kwan Sook, General Secretary of the National Council of Churches—joined in calling for revision of the unpopular Yushin Constitution. Again, on December 24, a group of 30 civic and religious leaders began a campaign to collect a million signatures on a petition calling on President Park to accept a new and democratic constitution.

The government immediately responded through the Prime Minister, stating categorically that "the Government cannot condone any acts which go beyond the limit of freedom under the slogan of 'change the Constitution' or 'restore democracy.'"

On January 8, 1974, Park Chong Hee decreed in two presidential "Emergency Decrees" that anyone criticizing the Constitution or advocating its revision would be arrested, court-martialed, and imprisoned for up to 15 years.

The day before he issued this decree, 61 prominent literary men, among them poets, novelists, and playwrights, issued a statement demanding that "the basic rights of the people, including the freedom of conscience and the freedom of expression . . . be guaranteed constitutionally."

When 20 of the signers gathered in a tearoom in Seoul, the Korean CIA immediately picked up nine of the participants, among them the national poet Kim Chi Ha and the novelist Lee Ho Chul.

In a wave of arrests and illegal detentions, the Korean police arrested or detained politicians, students, Christian leaders, Protestant ministers, and other individuals who had participated.

On January 21, 1974, 10 Protestant clergymen were arrested for violating the presidential decree. They have been convicted. Four were sentenced to 15 years imprisonment, two received 10-year sentences at hard labor. Later, on March 6, the court-martial Court of Appeals turned down the appeal of these six Christian churchmen.

Student demonstrations continued, and on January 24, about 140 students were picked up, questioned, and, with the exception of seven of them, released. On February 2, two of these were jailed for 10 years, three others for seven years and the remaining two for five years. On March 2, the Appellate Court reduced the prison sentences imposed on them.

The convictions continued. On March 2, three students of Seoul National University were convicted. In mid-March, the military court sentenced five members of the opposition Democratic Unification Party and three members of the opposition New Democratic Party.

On March 28, eight young Christian clergymen and students (three of them women) were sentenced. According to official announcements, thirty-four students, churchmen, politicians, and intellectuals were sentenced by these military tribunals from January 28 until March 31.

Regardless of the repression, the students during the month of March and early April 1974 planned further activities opposing the repressive acts of the government of Park Chong Hee.

On March 27, the Catholic University students held meetings demanding the dissolution of the January Emergency Decrees. Five students were arrested. On April 1, universities in four big cities including Seoul attempted to hold large demonstrations. These were thwarted by government agents who got hold of secret plans. Forty students were arrested on this occasion.

Plans were pending for major demonstrations in front of the Seoul City Hall to call for the release of the arrested students.

On April 3, again faced with massive student demonstrations, the government issued its decree known as Emergency Measure No. 4. This decree, perhaps one of the most extreme suppressive laws against students and universities anywhere, makes it a crime punishable by death for students to refuse to attend classes or join in demonstrations, discussions, rallies or any other type of student political activity and specifically provides that these penalties shall also be applied to any individual or individuals who aid or act in concert with these students.

Arrests are continuing on a day-to-day basis. Not only are students, leading clergymen, intelligentsia, novelists, poets, and ordinary citizens included in the wave of suppression, but as recently as last week one of Korea's prominent attorneys, Kang Shin Ok, who dared to represent some of the students, has been arrested, incarcerated and held by the police authorities in Seoul in an attempt to deprive these defendants of legal counsel.

V. TRIALS OF 55 INDICTED PURSUANT TO EMERGENCY DECREE NO. 4

As of July 2, 1974, there were 55 individuals indicted out of approximately 250 who had been arrested for violations of Emergency Decree No. 4. Many of those originally arrested have been released, and it is not known how many are actually now detained. Knowledgeable sources estimate that at least 100 are still being detained without charges.

The 55 individuals arrested and indicted were divided

into three groups to be tried in three separate military courts created by Emergency Decree No. 2 (copies of Decree No. 1, 2 and 4 are attached hereto). Court No. 1 had before it 32 students; Court No. 2, 21 adults, mostly members of the so-called Peoples Revolutionary Party; and Court No. 3, two Japanese students. The following is a report of the proceedings in each court:

Court No. 1

As of this date (July 2, 1974), there had been seven court sessions with more sessions scheduled for July 5 and 6. The defendants had been examined, and it was not known whether or not the defense would be allowed witnesses. At the final stages, they were denied this request on the ground that they had confessed. However, they all indicated in court through their lawyers that the confessions had been extracted from them by torture and that they wished to proceed to trial with their witnesses.

This request was denied and the students were tried and sentenced.

Court No. 2

On July 2, 1974, this court had five sessions, the last of which was on June 26, 1974. This group requested that it have 15 witnesses to testify on their behalf. All such witnesses were rejected by the court. On the other hand, the judges had allowed four witnesses for the prosecutor.

Court No. 3

For political reasons, this court was charged with the trying of two Japanese students known as Tachikawa and Haiakawa. This court had three sessions. The government asked for one witness, which was accepted. The defense asked for two witnesses; both were rejected. Incidentally, these two witnesses were defendants in group No. 1, and the reason for the rejection was the same, that it was unnecessary to have defense witnesses because the legal evidence to convict was present in the form of a confession.

It should be pointed out that under ordinary Korean law, a trial must be completed within four months after indictment; that the original detention is to be limited to 10 days for police and 20 days for prosecutor. However, under emergency court-martial procedures, no limits are put on the detention of defendants, and some have been held more than three months without being indicted or advised of charges.

As to the conduct of the trials, they are closed to the general public, although each defendant is entitled to a lawyer and one relative. No other public representative is allowed at the trial. Members of the foreign press corps and foreign legal observers are barred from witnessing the proceedings. (In fairness to the government, it must be stated that a member of the local press, controlled and censored by government agents who physically are present in each newspaper office, is allowed to attend the trials, provided he is approved by the Minister of Defense.)

Conversations with four lawyers for the defense and many of the relatives of the student-defendants revealed with certainty that (1) the student-defendants were tortured into giving a confession, (2) all requests for witnesses to defend the cases were denied, although each defendant has repudiated his confession, and (3) at all times the defendants were held incommunicado except for sporadic visits of their lawyers.

Since the author's visit to Korea and specifically on July 18, one of the defendant's attorneys, a prominent South Korean lawyer, Kang Shim Ok, was taken from his offices by CIA agents and held by the police for having defended some of the students in these proceedings. Another lawyer was also arrested, held for two days, and then released in an attempt to intimidate him in connection with his defense of the students.

Also, since the author's visit to Korea, these military courts have sentenced 14 defendants to death, the two Japanese students received each a prison term of 20

years, and although 91 defendants have been convicted so far, it is estimated that 100 or more are in jail awaiting trial.

Furthermore, Yun Po Sun, former President of the Republic, has been arrested and is being tried pursuant to Emergency Decree No. 4 together with three other prominent Koreans, The Reverend Park Hyong Kyu, an outspoken Presbyterian minister; Kim Dong Gil, a professor of American studies at Yonsei University in Seoul; and The Reverend Kim Chan Kook, Dean of the Theological Seminary at Yonsei. All face a possible death sentence.

In addition, Kim Dae Jung, a former candidate for the presidency, is now before a civilian court on charges of election law violations in 1967 and 1971.

On July 19, a prominent Roman Catholic bishop, The Most Reverend Daniel Chi, was indicted for allegedly attempting the overthrow of the government and is now being tried before a secret military court.

The Defense Minister, Suh Jong Chul, reviewed many of the sentences on July 20 and commuted five of the death sentences, including the death sentence of the dissident poet, Kim Chi Ha, and four other men convicted for an alleged anti-government plot.

VI. TORTURE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS

In almost every quarter of the Korean society, from the religious leaders to the lawyers to the leaders of the opposition, and the intellectuals of the academic community, the torture of political prisoners was considered to be a foregone conclusion—something that happens frequently, if not on arrest, then surely on the detention of a political prisoner.

Specific evidence, however, such as photographs of prisoners physically maimed, except in one instance, is most difficult to find. Accordingly, we have to rely upon statements from the family of a prisoner, the statement of his lawyer, or the statement of the prisoner himself.

All of the six lawyers defending the 32 students recently on trial before military courts revealed to me that it was relayed to them from their clients that each of them had been tortured in one way or another by the Korean CIA in order to extract from them a "confession." These lawyers related specific methods of torture referred to in this report, such as forcing cold water through nostrils of individuals, causing of extreme fatigue, the use of "screams and yelps" in adjoining rooms as a warning, and the physical beating of the prisoners themselves.

The national poet Kim Chi Ha gave evidence of being tortured.

Chang Chun Ha, a well-known Korean intellectual, publisher, and former member of the Korean Assembly, testified that he was subjected to being hanged upside down and simultaneously having been burned with a flame on several parts of his body.

Soh Sung, a handsome Japanese-born Seoul National University student, was a handsome young man when he entered prison. He appeared in court with a badly burned body and face. His ears and eyelids had disappeared and his fingers adhered together. It was necessary for him to sign a record by using the imprint of his toe. The Korean government explains this obvious change of appearance by saying that he fell into burning oil on a stove.

Reports were made to the author that other methods used involved the use of electric shock applied to the private parts of individuals and "persuasive" techniques in order to extract from the defendants a confession.

The author realizes that the evidence produced in this report on torture is not extensive but verily believes, on the basis of conversations with credible and responsible people who have direct knowledge of the use of such techniques, that the conclusion reached here is supported by reliable evidence.

'There Is to Be No Torture'

Perhaps no one is closer to the aloof and autocratic President of South Korea, Park Chung Hee, than 48-year-old Kim Jong Pil. When General Park first seized power in 1961, he named then Lieutenant Colonel Kim as the first director of the Korean Central Intelligence Agency. And two years later, when Park decided to legitimize his rule by running as a civilian candidate, it was Kim who organized Park's successful Democratic Republican Party. For his efforts, Kim became South Korea's Premier. Last week in the Premier's office in Seoul, soft-spoken Kim Jong Pil defended Park's systematic repression of political opponents (page 19) in an interview with NEWSWEEK's Paul Brinkley-Rogers. Below, their conversation:

BRINKLEY-ROGERS: *Why is the Korean Government arresting students, clergymen and even a poet and giving them death sentences or life in prison?*

KIM: Korea faces difficult and unique problems, the like of which cannot be found elsewhere. The most critical issue here is national security. The constant aim of the Communists in the north is to create an unstable situation in this country. Consequently, the Communists continually seek to instigate disorder and foment confusion in the south. We are thus in a state of siege. Despite the armistice of 1953, we are still in a virtual wartime situation.

Q. *But South Korea has had peace for 21 years.*

A. The north does not dare provoke actual military combat because it cannot do so with any assurance of success. We have a very strong defensive posture. Therefore, [North Korean President] Kim Il Sung is trying to cajole or to force the U.N. or the U.S. into withdrawing their forces from South Korea. He is also instigating constant provocations by infiltrating spies and saboteurs, in an attempt to create disorder in the south.

Q. *Are the 55 defendants in the court-martial trials, including poet Kim Chi Ha and Bishop Daniel Chi, Communists?*

A. I don't think Kim Chi Ha and Bishop Chi are Communists and we do not deal with them as Communists, or even as fellow travelers. But among those on trial now are members of the People's Revolutionary Party who are Communists and have played leading roles in the recent plot. But the "people's front" strategy does not try to immediately establish a Communist regime, but to provide some cause around which discontented people can rally, whether they

are politicians, students, professors, businessmen or clergymen. Bishop Chi and Kim Chi Ha joined those people not because they were a Communist group, but for reasons of their own personal ambition. They have the same objective as the Communists: to overthrow this government. The Communists have cleverly utilized them in this initial stage.

Q. *Is former President Yun Po Sun in the same category?*

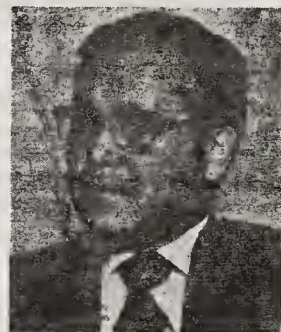
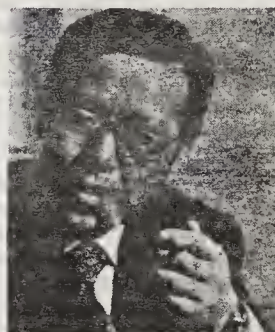
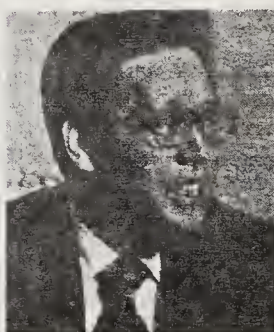
A. Of course he's not a Communist, but he's a politician and consequently has political ambitions.

Q. *Don't you actually have social stability here?*

A. The economy doesn't have much

A. I have issued very strong instructions that there is to be no torture. We are trying these people under law. But you must understand that Communists fight in the courts the way they do elsewhere, fabricating all sorts of things at trials. I can assure you, however, that there has been no torture to the best of my knowledge. Let me tell you a story. Bishop Chi was in custody at St. Mary's Hospital last week and one morning a crowd of Catholics ganged up on a government representative there, beat him unconscious and took the bishop away. But we have done nothing against Bishop Chi or any Catholics for this.

Q. *Given your objections to some of our reporting, why haven't foreign journalists*



Photos by Kaku Kurita

Premier Kim Jong Pil: 'We are performing preventive surgery'

depth yet and we must exercise strong leadership and effective policies to maintain stability. It is the duty of the government to protect itself and its people, and to insure national security. A good parallel is cancer. If you let it spread, it is too late to save your life. You must operate and take out any contaminated or suspicious part. What we are doing is performing preventive surgery.

Q. *Some Korean religious figures complain that they are not allowed to carry out what they call social-action programs. Would you consider these programs outside their proper sphere of influence?*

A. It's not the churches as institutions but just a few individual clergymen who went beyond the boundary line. I am not defending the churches simply because I am a Christian, but there are really only a few bad apples among the clergy.

Q. *There will be hearings this week on alleged violations of human rights in Korea before a U.S. House of Representatives foreign-affairs subcommittee in Washington. How will you react to possible charges there of torture here?*

A. *been allowed to attend the court-martial trials or interview sentenced prisoners? Wouldn't this help us verify facts?*

A. These are not ordinary cases, like robberies; this is treason. Even though the cases are heard by military courts, the defendants' rights are guaranteed. They have three possible appeals, all the way to the Supreme Court. And certain people are permitted to attend the trials: attorneys, family members and reporters accredited to the Defense Ministry. In the case of the Japanese defendants, embassy officials attended. So these were not completely closed trials. But if you foreign correspondents attend, then some of the defendants are going to start fabricating all kinds of things. If there are news stories about torture, the U.S. Congress opens hearings, and this does no good, but only complicates the situation.

Q. *What about U.S. criticism?*

A. We do appreciate advice from our friends, but only as long as it helps us develop a free and democratic nation. We are now trying to overcome certain difficulties effectively. I hope our American friends understand our position.

No TORTURE?

"Oh yes... Tell me, was there really a PRP?"

"No, the government dreamed it all up."

"Then, on what basis are they holding you in prison?"

"The interrogation. They kept at me until I 'confessed.'"

"Was the torture bad?"

"Terrible, brutal. They ruptured my intestines...I couldn't stand it. They admitted they were trumping up the whole case. The KCIA said to me: 'We know this is rough on you, but it's a political problem so just try to stand it for a while.'"

-- Conversation between Kim Chi Ha and Ha Chae Wan, as reported in the former's long article recounting his prison experiences and carried in the Dong-a Ilbo, February 25-27.

AN UPDATING: OCTOBER 1974

Since the author's visit to Korea in July of 1974, the Republic of Korea initially intensified its repression by the arrest and trial of prominent Koreans who were outspoken critics of the government such as Bishop Chi, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Wonju, Yun Po Sun, former President of the Republic, Kang Shin Ok, prominent lawyer and counsel to Kim Chi Ha, the national poet of Korea and other prominent religious leaders, professionals and students.

Scores of students and their supporters have been given long prison terms varying from life to three years. At least five have been sentenced to death.

Ironically, the repression seemed to ease after the death of Mrs. Park Chung Hee, resulting from an assassination attempt on the President.

Shortly thereafter, President Park terminated Emergency Decrees No. 1 and No. 4 leaving, in effect, Emergency Decree No. 2 (the Military Tribunals) in order to carry out the prosecution of those remaining to be tried. It can be reliably reported that some of the initial recommendations of this report have been in fact accepted by the Korean government and there is evidence which points to the alleviation of the use of torture by Korean police and military authorities.

At the United Nations this report has been submitted to the Director of the Human Rights Division for filing with the sub-Commission on prevention of discrimination and protection of minorities pursuant to resolutions of the Economic and Social Council #1235, #1503 and #728F. Further steps are being taken by non-governmental organizations to participate in the international debate concerning the United Nations relationship with the Republic of Korea and, in particular, an intervention is being sought to the effect of asking the United Nations to remove from the Republic of Korea and the American Forces stationed there, the flag and offices of the United Nations.

Perhaps it would be easier to state in chronological order some of the main events which have occurred since the author's departure from Seoul on July 6, 1974:

- July 6 Arrest of Bishop Daniel Chi, Roman Catholic Bishop of Wonju, for supporting Kim Chi Ha and the students.
- July 11 Military Court sentences seven dissidents to death, eight to life imprisonment and six to twenty years.
- July 13 Seven more sent to death, including the national poet Kim Chi Ha.
- July 14 Yun Po Sun, South Korea's beloved ex-President, arrested for giving \$1,000 to a minister of the Cheil church in Seoul to

July 16

assist a student group.

Former President Yun Po Sun, Reverend Park Kyong Kyu, prominent Presbyterian Minister, Kim Dong Gil, a professor of American studies at Yonsei University, and Reverend Kim Chan Kook, Dean of the Theological Seminary at Yonsei, go on trial for supporting student political activities.

July 18

Prominent South Korean lawyer, Kang Shin Ok, defense attorney for poet Kim Chi Ha, arrested and taken from his office by Korean Secret Service Police.

July 19

Bishop Daniel Chi formally charged with attempting to overthrow the Korean government by violent means.

July 20

Korean government commutes the death sentences of Kim Chi Ha and four others to life sentences.

July 24 -
September 1

Convictions continue -- all defendants charged found guilty by military courts and given sentences mostly from life to twenty years and some from three to fifteen years.

July 24

Secretary of State Kissinger defends U.S. aid to Seoul: "Where we believe the national interest is at stake, we proceed even when we don't approve of the country's policies."

July 25

2,000 attend mass protest by Catholics in Seoul against the arrest of Bishop Chi.

July 26

The chief legal officer for the Ministry of National Defense officially denies that defendants have been tortured and prevented from cross-examining government witnesses at the trials.

July 28

Korean CIA agents arrest and interrogate Catholic nun, Sister Sye Raymonde, secretary to Bishop Chi, for seventeen hours.

July 30

Korean CIA agents arrest and detain two Irish (Columban) Priests for illegal political activities.

July 30

William J. Butler, the author, and Professor Edwin O. Reischauer testify before the House Foreign Affairs Committee, Congressman Donald M. Fraser presiding, requesting a curtailment of U.S. military economic aid to Korea pursuant to Section 32 of the Foreign Aid Law of 1973-1974.

August 4

Premier Kim Jong Pil, justifying the ac-

tion of the Korean government, announces:

"We must insure our economy and our national security before we can develop democracy."

- August 7** Sixty more students and others put on trial.
- August 8** Twenty-six more convictions received prison terms from three to fifteen years.
- August 12** Yun Po Sun sentenced to three years; suspended sentence. Reverend Park Hyong Kyu sentenced to 15 years and 15 years suspension of civil rights. Professor Kim Dong Il sentenced to 15 years and 15 years suspension of civil rights. Dean Kim Chan Kuk sentenced to 10 years and 10 years suspension of civil rights. Bishop Daniel Chi sentenced to 15 years and 15 years suspension of civil rights.
- August 15** Mrs. Park Chung Hee, South Korea's much admired First Lady, mortally wounded in an assassination attempt on her husband.
- August 23** Two Emergency Decrees #1 and #4 terminated by President Park. Emergency Decree #2 (Military Courts) continued to finish pending trials.
- September 3** U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee recommends a 25% cutback of the combined military grants and credit ceiling to the Republic of Korea for fiscal 1974.
- September 4** Military Court sentences prominent lawyer Kang Chin Ok to ten years in prison and ten years loss of his civil rights for defending national poet Kim Chi Ha and remarking at the conclusion of the trial in a summation that the trial was like those held by the Nazis in Germany.

September

U.S. House Foreign Affairs Committee adopted an amendment by Donald M. Fraser of Minnesota, putting a ceiling of \$100 million in military grants and \$15 million for excess defense articles.

Note: Both Committees are now working on submission to the Congress of their respective resolutions.

September 28

Military and Special Riot Police break up prayer meeting in Seoul and bodily carry off a Catholic priest in his vestment garments.

Political activity within Korea continues to be met with repression by Korean authorities. Recently, mass prayer meetings held by the Roman Catholic Church have been broken up by the police and the priest leaders have been dragged off bodily for further interrogation by Korean CIA authorities.

Dissent is not tolerated. The government has made it clear that all political activity criticizing the State is considered a threat to the security of Korea.

The Yushin Constitution provides for the continuation of President Park as President of Korea and Commander of the military forces for life. It gives the Executive the power to suppress all aspects of human freedom, makes a mockery out of the democratic process and continues to be the legal excuse for the suppression of all political thought. Until certain provisions of this constitution are changed; until all those in prison solely for political expression are released and until the proper legal rights and remedies are given to the people, Korea still struggles to be free in the 20th century.

The United Nations, under whose flag foreign military forces stationed in Korea serve, and the United States, which provides enormous military and economic aid to the Korean nation, should seriously consider withdrawing their support which is being used to perpetuate the tyrannical and repressive measures of a dictator with an insatiable appetite for autocratic power.

Confirms Verdicts of Yun, Tji THE KOREA TIMES, 12 OCTOBER, 1974

Emergency Military Court Ends 9 Months' Function

The Appellate Emergency Court-martial turned down appeals from former president Yun Po-sun, Catholic Bishop Tji Hak-soun and eight other people yesterday as it completed trials of violators of presidential emergency decrees.

With the sentencing yesterday, in which Yun's suspended three-year term and Tji's 15-year imprisonment were upheld, the emergency courts-martial ended their nine months of functioning.

The special courts-martial were established on Jan. 8 with the proclamation of Presidential Emergency Decree No. 1 which banned all forms of criticism of the present Constitution.

A total of 203 people have been tried since then and all were convicted. They included those who were charged with violating the Presidential Emergency Decree No. 4 issued on April 3 outlawing an anti-government student movement

called the National Federation of Democratic Youths and Students.

Both Presidential Decrees Nos. 1 and 4 were lifted on Aug. 23 but court-martial proceedings continued for people who were already charged.

A Defense Ministry spokesman said yesterday that the emergency courts-martial would continue functioning only in areas related to the Supreme Court's review of sentences given by the courts-martial.

The Appellate Emergency Court-martial presided over by Gen. Lee Se-ho upheld earlier sentences ranging from life terms to five years in jail for the eight other people.

Of them Lee Song-jae, a member of the outlawed People's Revolutionary Party, was given life imprisonment and former national assemblyman Kim Chu-muk, former police captain Chong Ho-yong and Kim In-han, a former senior official at the Central Intelli-

gence Agency, were sentenced to 15 years in jail each.

Kang Shin-ok, a lawyer who had defended poet Kim Chi-ha in the court-martial trials, and Kim Chae-wi, a former national assemblyman, were sentenced to 10 years in jail each, and Lee Yong-sop, a former police general, to a 12-year term.

The appeal court-martial accepted appeals from three other people and reduced their sentences. Prof. Kim Chan-kuk, dean of theology at Yonsei University, had his 10-year term commuted to five years and two Yonsei students, Hong Song-yop and Cho Hyong-sik, were given five years and three years, respectively, two years shorter than earlier sentence.

Both former president Yun, now 77, and Bishop Tji, 53, of Wonju Diocese, were convicted for giving financial support to members of the National Federation of Democratic Youths and Students. Yun

was sentenced to three years in jail with a stay of execution for five years.

The emergency courts-martial, through their nine-month trials, have given death sentences to eight people, all members of the People's Revolutionary Party, and life terms to 13 others, including seven PRP members and four students.

Of the 203 convicted, 114 are students. They include 40 students from Seoul National University, 17 from Yonsei University, 14 from Chonnam National University in Kwangju, 11 from Sogang University, eight from Kyongbuk National University in Taegu, four from Sunkyunwan University and three each from Pusan University, Hanyang University, and Hankuk Theological Seminary.

Those convicted by the emergency courts-martial also include two Japanese, freelance journalist Tachikawa Masaki and guest college lecturer Hayakawa Yoshiharu, who both were given 20-year jail terms plus 15 years of suspension of civil rights.

The last trial session of the Appellate Emergency Court-martial yesterday was observed by one family member for each defendant, lawyers and pressmen accredited to the Defense Ministry.

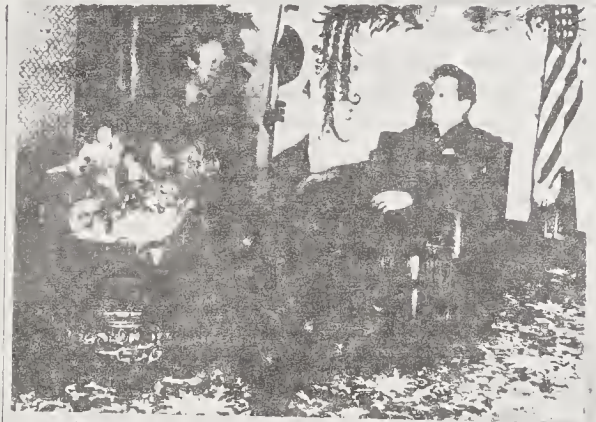
FORD PROPS PARK

Dear Mr. President:

God bless you and your family in this abundant season. We especially pray for your wife's complete recovery. We also pray for our friends, the American people, and for their limitless prosperity. We, who are addressing ourselves to you in this letter, are mothers of young people who have been sentenced to death, life imprisonment, and prison terms of 7, 10, 15 or 20 years for political reasons.

According to news reports, you will soon be visiting Korea. The people of Korea are pleased with your interest in our nation. However, the circumstances in which we now find ourselves, mean that there are some in Korea to whom your visit will bring sadness instead of happiness. In 1960, when former President Eisenhower visited our nation, we welcomed him with great excitement. Even today, the affection which we feel for you is no different from that time. However, circumstances today make it difficult to express the feelings which lie deep in our hearts. To speak frankly, we are frightened about the possible results of your visit. We are, in fact, so overcome with fear and concern, that we are sending this letter to you.

Our children, attempting to pattern their lives after Jesus Christ, have worked through student organizations to renew Korea. Because of this they are in prison convicted of being communists and anti-government activists. They have all chosen to live and serve with the oppressed and rejected, the poor who labor in farms and rural areas. They have done this out of the deep conviction of their Christian faith. They have sought to assist the poor people in achieving a sense of pride and individual worth and to help them become independent members of society. Impressed by the lessons they have learned theoretically in school, they have worked to make democracy a reality.



우리와의 기본방

Responding to protest from people in Korea, Japan, the U.S. and around the world, Ford felt constrained to explain the meaning of his Seoul sojourn: the visit should in no way be interpreted as a show of personal support for Park Chung Hee. The above photo, blown up life-size, appeared on a government propaganda board just before the February 1975 referendum. The slogan reads: "For the security of the state, 'security foreign policy.'"

Believing that God created man in his own image and that he wishes all to be free and blessed in His sight, our children have given of their sweat and tears to help free people from the injustices of our society. However, the Park regime, during its thirteen years in power, has demonstrated no real concern for the needs of the people, but has only been concerned for its own political survival. To this end it has enforced the so-called Yushin Constitution with the use of tanks and fabricated elections which have violated the rights of the people. Even one word spoken in opposition to this has brand-

ed the speaker as a communist.

Our children felt that they could not tolerate this situation and called upon the government to withdraw its Yushin Constitution. They were arrested and subjected to endless mental and physical tortures. Half-dead from the tortures, they were forced to sign confessions which have used as evidence against them. Even now, behind prison bars and facing continued beatings and electric tortures, they are determined to continue their efforts to create a democratic Korea, believing that true freedom and peace for all are the will of God for society.

Therefore, we are concerned and deeply distressed by the possibility that President Park will use your visit to prolong his regime and lie to the people about the extent of your support for him. The prolongation of the Park regime can only mean continued unhappiness and despair for the people of Korea with no real security. We beg you to understand these feelings.

Because we mothers revealed what our sons actually said at their trials, we too have been arrested by the police and the Korean Central Intelligence Agency for severe interrogation. During the interrogations some of us were beaten to unconsciousness and had to be hospitalized for treatment. Even while undergoing treatment, agents of the KCIA came to interrogate us. They tormented us on our hospital beds and kept us from sleeping. A nurse who was helping to treat us broke down and wept at the treatment we were receiving.

Perhaps you will ask why students are involved in such activity while most citizens remain quiet. For thirteen years, the citizens of Korea have been effectively prevented by the government from seeing what they ought to see, hearing what they ought to hear, and saying what they ought to say. They have been powerless under this merciless oppression. However, in their hearts they thirst for the day when they will be free and at peace.

Faced with the dread reality of the present, we mothers await your wise judgement and decision on our behalf. With a prayer for your peace and good health, we close our sad letter.

1974/10/20

Signed: (Representatives of mothers of Prisoners)

LETTERS to the Editor

Asahi Evening News

American Citizens' Group Appalled By Ford's Intention to Visit South Korea

To the Editor:

Several dozen American citizens are sending the following open letter to President Gerald R. Ford in response to his announced intention of visiting South Korea:

"As concerned American citizens in Japan, we are appalled by your plan to visit South Korea. It expresses support for a regime that denies its citizens all elementary human and political rights.

"You promised us honesty and virtue in politics. Is endorsement of dictator Park Chung Hee consistent with your professed ideals for America? You certainly have access to information on Park's dictatorial rule and can understand why Congress is reducing involvement with repressive governments in Asia. In such circumstances, your visit to Seoul would be an affront to the ideals of the American people.

"Worse, it would be a cruel blow to the life and death struggle

of the Korean people for freedom, justice and democracy.

"President Park, like Presidents Thieu and Marcos, is hated and feared by his own people. These dictators survive only with outside help. Your visit to South Korea would encourage Park to continue his repressive policies in defiance of the Korean people and international opinion.

"Your visit would also serve notice that the President of the United States is deaf to the cries of those tortured in the KCIA's Namsan interrogation rooms, in South Vietnam's tiger cages, and in the Philippines' detention camps.

"In the strongest possible political and moral terms, we urge you to cancel your visit to South Korea."

Martha K. Winnacker
for the Ad Hoc Committee to
Oppose President Ford's
Visit to South Korea
Tokyo 11/5/74

Foreign Missionaries In ROK See Ford Staff

Mainichi Daily News 11/25/74

SEOUL (UPI)—Nine foreign missionaries stationed in South Korea met Saturday with a member of President Ford's staff to discuss the Korean civil rights situation.

Following their 90-minute meeting with Richard S. Smyser, a senior adviser to the National Security Council, members of the group said they had reached a mutual understanding not to reveal the contents of the talks.

"We talked about freedom and human rights," said Edward Toitras, an American teacher at a Methodist seminary, and a 10-year veteran in the Korean mission field.

Members of the group, which included four Catholics and five Protestants, said they were given assurances that their views would be passed on to President Ford. A U.S. Embassy spokesman also said this

would be done.

President Park's revision of the Korean constitution to concentrate power in the hands of the president, and the government's stern attitude toward its critics have drawn criticism from Korean Christians, and some foreign missionaries in Seoul.

Premier Kim Jong Pil warned recently that the government might expel foreign missionaries playing an active role in politics.

Secretary of State Henry Kissinger said shortly before Ford's arrival in Seoul that Ford would discuss with Park the impact of criticism of his domestic policies on American public opinion.

After Ford's meeting with Park Friday, State Department officials who briefed newsmen declined to reveal what, if anything, Ford said to Park on the subject.

To the Editor:

Concerned Koreans everywhere through every channel available to them have conveyed to U.S. President Ford their belief that his ill-advised trip to Seoul is the wrong visit at the wrong time to the wrong dictator.

Our students, journalists, intellectuals and Christian leaders are now waging a life and death struggle for our inalienable human rights, too long suppressed by Park's repressive rule. Many have died under extremely cruel torture. Many more languish in Park's dungeons under 15-year sentences or await execution for the crime of cherishing the ideals of freedom and democracy.

This sad, gruesome picture of the Korean situation is not Communist propaganda. These are facts publicly testified to by Asian specialists and church leaders at recent hearings held

Readers' Forum

Mainichi Daily News 11/22/74

Mr. Ford, Don't Plug For Park

by the U.S. Congress. The accuracy of their graphic testimony about the Park regime's vicious rule was acknowledged by the U.S. State Department. In spite of this, and in callous disregard of the suffering of the Korean people, President Ford will visit Seoul and endorse Park Chung Hee, his regime and his methods.

The Park regime will take advantage of the latent goodwill toward America, and undoubtedly be able to mobilize large crowds when President Ford arrives in Seoul, just like the latent animosity against Japan was utilized to stage the phony charade of anti-Japanese demonstrations several weeks

ago. But other Koreans not duped by Park will simply wince at the appalling sight of President Ford shaking hands with Park Chung Hee. President Ford must realize that it is these other Koreans who will decide the future of Korea.

Since the Americans landed in Korea as "liberators" in 1945, we South Koreans have generally accepted the U.S. presence as necessary or even favorable to our freedom. We had great moral respect for the U.S. as an ally. That was before October 17, 1972, however, when Park Chung Hee demolished the last vestiges of freedom and democracy—with the guns and tanks supplied by

the U.S. After two years of democratic struggle against Park, the Korean people no longer find it possible to hold the U.S., which still provides aid to Park's criminal regime, in the same esteem.

During these two years, many Koreans have experienced the thunderbolt that struck Paul on the road to Damascus. Like Paul, they are no longer blind and can now see the plain fact that something called "U.S. interests" is much more important to Washington than freedom and justice for the Korean people. If any Korean needs further proof that the anti-communism practiced by Park and endorsed by Ford will only perpetuate the enslavement of the Korean people, it will be provided by President Ford when he lauds Park with the usual talk about "shared concern for human dignity and freedom."

CHUNG KYUNGMO
Yokohama City

"By concentrating upon questions of military security, the Americans gave the impression they were in complete support of Park's military regime. They claim everything must be sacrificed to greater military might. President Ford appeared to agree. Such a posture is short-sighted to say the least. One would think that the lessons of Vietnam would teach us that social unity and social justice are prerequisites to national security. A policy of concentrating on military power at the expense of civil rights and justice is self defeating."

Excerpt from Rev. George Ogle's testimony before Subcommittees of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, Dec. 20, 1974

Mainichi Daily News 12/22/74

Ogle Raps Ford's Visit To S. Korea

WASHINGTON (UPI) — President Ford's recent official visit to South Korea has been interpreted as unqualified support for the military regime of President Park Chung Hee, an American missionary expelled from South Korea told congress Friday.

The Rev. George E. Ogle, a United Methodist Church missionary in South Korea for 20 years who was expelled by the Park regime for alleged subversive political activity, said Park had used military power and denial of basic human rights to keep political power.

"It is really a simple case of a military man using military power in order to keep control of political power even at the cost of suffering to his people," Ogle told a House Foreign Affairs subcommittee investigating human rights in South Korea.

"It is in this context that the recent visit of President Ford to Korea must be evaluated. By concentrating upon questions of

military security, the Americans gave the impression they were in complete support of Park's military regime," Ogle said.

"Park claims everything must be sacrificed to greater military might. President Ford appeared to agree," Ogle said.

Ogle denied all claims made in a letter to the subcommittee from the Korean Embassy here that he had engaged in subversive political activity.

"I am not a political agitator," Ogle said. "Park Chung Hee, with his military disregard for everything except 'command and obey' is the real agitator of the people," he said.

"I was deported for the very same reason that about 200 of my brethren are in prison," Ogle said. "We dared to speak out for human rights and justice and against the Yushin system and its Korean Central Intelligence Agency," he said.

Yushin is the name that Park gave to the system of government by which he now rules South Korea. Ogle said the English translation of Yushin is

"revitalizing reforms."

"Rather than a reform, however, this Yushin system is a reversion to a traditional, monolithic dictatorship practiced by Korean rulers in ancient times," Ogle said.

Ogle said missionaries have been concerned with human rights, but have never led opposition groups to Park's regime.

"Missionaries have acted in a supportive role and have joined their Korean brethren only at their suggestion and under their leadership," Ogle said. "If there were no missionaries in the country at all, the Park government would still be faced with the same problem it has now." He acknowledged he had spoken out against the Yushin system, but said that was not illegal.

Ogle said "since Ford's visit, Park has used the Veterans Association and the chief military leaders to threaten the people further."

He said the Seoul government promised to release some

political prisoners "but only if they sign an apology and their families refrain from any anti-government criticism."

Ogle said massive American military support to the Park regime had had crushing effects on Korean politics and government.

"The American people, and I believe, the majority of the Korea people, want American influence to be used not for the blind support of military, police-state power, but for the development of democratic social structures and human values," Ogle said.

"Indeed unless the broad foundation of democratic structures are supported, the huge amounts of financial aid given to Korea, and the lives of many American soldiers, may again turn out to have been wasted," Ogle said.

Ogle was accompanied to the hearing by Dr. Edward Fisher, an executive director of overseas operations of the United Methodist Church.

THE REPRESSION LINGERS ON

FAR EASTERN ECONOMIC REVIEW

By A Correspondent

OCTOBER 25, 1974

South Korea has still not found the internal peace for which it has been so urgently striving. The anti-Government protests last winter were countered by sledge-hammer tactics, so repressive that they aroused world indignation. Then the attempted assassination of President Park Chung Hee in August was followed, surprisingly, not by more stringent measures against dissidents, but by the lifting of two of the most stifling emergency decrees. However, this did not appease the opposition. This month, Seoul was once again wracked by violent demonstrations against the ruling regime. And, as REVIEW correspondents report, there is no sign of any true relaxation of the Government's repression. Hundreds of political prisoners have been paying a painful price for their opposition. Meanwhile, the newly-vocal opposition party, the New Democratic Party, under its outspoken leader Kim Young Sam, interviewed below, waits for the day when the Park Administration stands down in favour of a more liberal government.

Seoul: Although President Park Chung Hee has lifted two of the emergency decrees imposed in January to curb domestic dissent, repression lingers on. A week after the President's wife was shot to death, an almost audible sigh of relief was heard in Seoul as two of the emergency measures were rescinded — an apparent attempt to stifle critics both at home and abroad.

Relief was tempered with caution, however, and, as South Korea's leading newspaper, *Tonga Ilbo*, hinted in a front-page cartoon, people would still have to be careful. After the first flush of optimism, most Koreans realised that the clamps were still very much in existence.

While most of the country watched and waited, nine patriots — men who had opposed the Government in nationwide movements 10-15 years previously — felt the full impact of Park's strongman rule. Meeting at a private home to discuss the possibility of resurrecting the campaign to change the authoritarian Constitution handed down in 1972 with the advent of martial law, this group was confident that their talks had gone unnoticed. But the cloak-and-dagger agents of the Korean Central Intelligence Agency (KCIA) pepper almost every corner of Seoul and within 48 hours seven of the nine who had met in private had been hauled in for question-

ing.

It was pointed out to the dissenters that, for various reasons, it would be wise to cancel any plans they had made, including any future meetings: The First Lady had been murdered, there was, according to a high-level KCIA official who interrogated the men, the threat of invasion from the communist North, the domestic situation was unstable, and trying to change the Constitution would endanger national harmony. Further, if there were changes to be made in the Constitution, the President himself would make them.

Thankful that they had been treated relatively leniently, the men agreed that this was not the time to become so intimately involved in domestic politics. They plainly understood the unspoken implication: though the emergency measures had been publicly rescinded, in effect they were still in force. Any opposition to the Constitution was still illegal.

Another group of people have not been fooled by the cancellation of the two decrees. Twenty Christian students and recent graduates, who are on the KCIA wanted list, have managed for more than five months to evade capture. During this period, the KCIA has made every effort to find these fugitives, with agents repeatedly visiting offices where they worked, "dropping in" on close friends with whom contact is expected, and even living in the students' homes waiting for them to make contact.

Continuing to stay in hiding despite the lifting of the two emergency decrees, these students fear they would still be summarily indicted and sentenced under the anti-communist law, which is still very much in effect. And there is also the provision (Article II) of Emergency Decree No. 2, which has not been revoked, which gives the emergency courts martial jurisdiction in cases not included in the emergency measures. Just what types of cases this includes is not specified.

The whole area of judicial procedure has become extremely hazy during the period of the emergency measures, with the result that no one can be assured of any certain judicial rights. For example, under the emergency measures still in effect, all of the customary provisions dealing with limitations on detention are superseded, and one emergency measure clearly states: "There shall be no limitation on detention period." As a result, many people have spent lengthy

periods in jail, being subjected to innumerable indignities, while never being charged, tried, or allowed legal counsel.

For example, well-known novelist Nam Jung Hyun, 44, was held in detention from April 20-August 23 without being indicted. His family was not allowed to see him even once during this time. Another man, a professor from Pusan National University, was held for six months, from February to August, before being released. He, too, was never charged.

The courts martial have continued, even though two of the decrees they enforce are no longer in effect. An appellate court session on August 29 is perhaps characteristic of the conduct of judicial affairs under the emergency decrees. Families of those to appear that day were informed the day before the trial of the next day's proceedings. As usual, only one family member (parent or spouse — brothers and sisters are not allowed) of each defendant would be admitted into the courtroom. These family representatives arrived the next morning in time to see the 32 prisoners brought in. The military court informed those present there would be two sessions that day, with sixteen cases considered in each. Sixteen prisoners were then led back out of the court and half of the family members were also required to leave; they went to a nearby tea-room to wait. Forty-five minutes later they were told that the first session (with sixteen defendants) was already over. Military jeeps took them back to the courtroom. When they entered, the trial was already in session; they had not been informed in time to be present from the starts of proceedings.

According to normal court procedure in the appellate courts martial, after the lawyers present their briefs, the judge questions the defendants, giving them an opportunity to answer the charges. A summary by the defence and prosecution then follows, and also demands for sentencing. In this particular trial, however, the judge announced that the court would dispense with questioning of the accused, because they had made statements at the lower court and the court already knew what they would say.

Complaints were immediately raised by the defendants, some of whom were under death sentences. One queried loudly: "What kind of a trial is this?" and another: "We have things to tell the court. There is no trial such as this."

Further comments and disturbances followed until the judge expelled three of the defendants — dissident poet Kim Chi Ha (under life sentence), Yo Chong Nam (under death sentence), and a student named Hwang In Song. When one of the mothers present wisely told the remaining defendants to settle down and, "as the Bible says, have patience and endure," she too was expelled from the proceedings.

The judge then told the defence lawyer to proceed with his summary. The lawyer responded that he could not do so without all the accused present in court. After again refusing in the face of strong urgings by the military judge, the lawyer was asked: "Then you're giving up your case?" The judge then closed the court, with the result that no one, including the defence lawyer, knew the status of the appellate case. Nor did the court announce the time of the next session until shortly before it was scheduled, some days later.

Other aspects of the military court system presently in operation also indicate the latitude with which it functions. In accordance with the emergency measures under which it was established, the system has the option of using military or civilian legal officials, all hand-picked by the President. In addition, families of those jailed have complained that many of the confessions have been obtained under torture and therefore cannot be considered as valid evidence. The CIA, which is handling all the investigations, has a reputation for wide use of various techniques, including electric shock; beatings; red pepper stuffed into nostrils; the insertion of bamboo splinters beneath the fingernails; covering the upside-down subject's mouth and nose with a wet towel, against which water is continually poured in such a way that breathing is excruciating; suspending the subject over a fire in a method referred to as the Genghis Khan Barbecue; the airplane ride, in which the subject is suspended by his wrists and ankles, and others. Relatives also complain that they are frequently not informed of the time of the trials and on some occasions have found out about their husband or son's sentencing only afterwards.

In most of the cases, there has been virtually no defence permitted. Even in the case of the two Japanese, Hayakawa Yoshiharu and Tachikawa Masaaki, the only witness was the Government witness, one Cho Jik Hee, upon whose description of events the whole case was built. Cho has been used as the main Government witness in the whole series of trials, and although he was meeting with the students throughout the period of alleged communist conspiracy, he re-

mains free.

In another case, the defence lawyer himself was taken out of court because the court took exception to his statements in the defence summation. He was not even permitted to be present for his clients' sentencing. Kang Shin Ok, a respected Korean lawyer who did graduate work at Yale and George Washington Universities in the United States, is reported to have told the military court that if the death sentence demanded by the prosecution were given his clients (including poet Kim Chi Ha), and if they were executed, this action by the court would only cause further student dissent. For these statements, lawyer Kang was indicted under charges of defaming the court. He was given a ten-year sentence at a court mar-

tial in early September and an additional ten-year suspension of civil rights, which could be interpreted as prohibiting him from practising law until 1994.

Meanwhile, even those with suspended sentences remain under the watchful eye of the KCIA. Most notable is former President Yun Po Sun who now lives at home under closely-guarded house arrest. His phone line has reportedly been cut, and from three to four KCIA agents actually live in his home and guard the gate. Other agents linger outside in the street in the guise of vendors and junk dealers. Yun, who is not permitted to leave, cannot even receive guests. At a recent party for his 77th birthday, only family members were permitted to attend.

Life in President Park's prison

By Robert Campbell

Seoul: President Park's emergency courts martial have tried a total of 203 cases since they were established in January. Several hundred other people have been picked up, jailed, questioned, interrogated, intimidated, threatened, and even tortured, before being released after days, weeks, or months.

With the exception of those who never proceed beyond the confines of the Korean CIA's own detention and interrogation facilities, virtually all of these hundreds have passed time in Seoul's West Gate prison. It is the prison for those awaiting trial, awaiting appeal, or simply waiting, as those who have never been charged must do. Prisoners whose trial proceedings are complete are then moved to other jails, generally outside Seoul. Most political prisoners are sent to the prison at Anyang, 20 kilometres south of the capital.

Life inside the old Japanese-built West Gate prison is dull. Those held for political offences are kept in separate rooms which measure about 2 metres by 3 metres. They are lucky, because common criminals are crowded with as many as ten others in such rooms, but the solitary atmosphere leaves them psychologically weary.

Each room has a barred window, a toilet hole, a door with a barred opening through which the prisoners can see a similar door across the hall, and a hatchway which is opened to give the inmates their food. Prison fare is sparse, consisting of a lump of cooked barley with red beans, given with a single side-dish and salty soup-broth three times a day — at 7am, 11am, and

3.30pm. In addition, prisoners who have received money from their families are permitted to purchase food from a commercially-run prison canteen — food which the prisoners say is much poorer in quality and higher in price than that sold in restaurants outside the prison.

The inmates are allowed to receive books and clean clothes from their families, but because of their political offences they are not permitted to write or receive letters, or to receive any visits from relatives. In addition, they are not permitted to leave their cells for exercise, as the non-political prisoners are allowed to do once a day. They are also prohibited, under threat of punishment, from talking to or communicating with one another, although there is some communication when the guards are not present. Their only pastime is reading, which is possible only during the daytime with the light from the window. At night, the meagre light of the single 30-watt bulb high in the cell is insufficient for reading but enough to sometimes disturb one's sleep.

Sleep does not come so easily on the hard wooden floor which has only a sheet for padding. However, the prison authorities are careful about the prisoners' health, inquiring about it frequently and permitting consultation with a doctor in the event of any possibly serious ailment.

Sometimes, new prisoners can find on the walls inscriptions by previous inmates whom they know. The prison was built long ago by the Japanese, and as one recent occupant knowledgeably attests, it has been little changed since then.

what Ogle knew

Since the "PRP" defendants were virtual unknowns having no friends among the student movement, their passing from the world would probably have gone unnoticed by all but a small circle of family and friends—had it not been for the brave action by one of the defendants' wives, who contacted George Ogle, a Methodist missionary resident in Korea for the last twenty years. Until he met with the wives, Ogle, like nearly everyone else in Korea, believed that, though perhaps the crimes with which the "PRP" men were charged did not warrant the severity of the sentences, they were nonetheless guilty of the alleged crimes. Doubts began to creep in, however, when he heard what the woman had to say, examined what little information she had, and reflected on the horror-stories of pain, suffering and torture suffered by them. His curiosity aroused as much as his compassion, he decided to look into the case.

"Though I knew nothing of the 'People's Revolutionary Party,' or the men involved in the case, I began to ask questions, and quite by chance came to meet a few of the wives of the men given the death sentence.... I began to look at old newspapers. I talked with people who knew the case, and I came across a reference to the [1964] case in a book.... It is my belief that the so-called communist conspiracy announced by the CIA in April of 1974, is basically a fabrication of the CIA itself." In late September, Ogle compiled the available information and published his findings in a mimeographed paper entitled, "They're Under Sentence of Death." In it he began by examining the 1964 PRP case against the background of student demonstrations of that time, coming to the conclusion that "the lack of evidence and the switching of the charges away from the National Security Law clearly suggests that the PRP appellation was in fact a CIA fabrication," and that just as in 1974, "the PRP was fabricated so that it would appear that the students, by demonstrating against the government, were actually helping the communists subvert the South, which would in turn create enough social pressure to quiet the students and allow the government to continue its pro-Japanese policies."

Ogle then turns to the 1974 case. "By 1974 the PRP had been forgotten." Noting the similarities between the '64 and '74 cases and the fact that the same CIA functionaries were directing both cases, he points out some differences too, most important of them being that "the Park government had significantly moved down the path of dictatorship by 1974." The so-called Yushin Constitution, by which Park was granted perpetual power (as the New York Times had put it, "president for life") made all means possible, including the decreeing of "Emergency Measures" at the President's every whim. But as the government applied increasingly repressive measures, outlets for dissent and democratic opposition became all the more limited and futile, the result being that, in the long term as Park became increasingly isolated from the people and as one act of repression led to still another, Park's time was running short. "In a word, Park's political position was desperate in 1974. In 1964 a democratic constitution and a civilian court system acted as vehicles for resolving conflict. By 1974 these vehicles were not available. All conflicts became a direct confrontation with Park and his CIA."

There follows a discussion as to the methods used by the CIA to produce "evidence," and, when that fails, to get "confessions." "The government has produced almost no evidence against any of the defendants. There are only written accusations that the CIA agents have forced the defendants to sign. In one case, when the defendant refused to sign, even after he had been beaten, a CIA agent grabbed his hand and forcefully signed the document. In court, the defendant told the judge what had happened and asked him to compare the signature on the document with his real signature. The military general acting as judge replied that that would not be necessary!" Ogle also debunks what little else the CIA was able to provide in the way of "evidence," such as financial records — where evidence that clearly and directly refutes the CIA version was provided by defense lawyers, but ignored by the courts. Most important, Ogle shows that the prosecution has "made no attempt to provide evidence that [the "link" between the PRP and the NDYSF, Yo Chong Nam] had any relationship with [PRP defendant] Ha after 1967, or with any of the other men accused of being members of the PRP. If this relationship cannot be proven, then the whole government case is invalid. Yet the prosecution has shown little interest in providing such evidence. Apparently they are not obliged to prove their accusations, even when the death penalty is being invoked.

Lastly, the Ogle paper gives detailed background data on each of the PRP defendants and examines the extent of each's association with each of the other defendants. For example: "Ha Chae Won (death sentence), age 42, lives in Taegu. Though he had no connection with the 1964 affair, Ha had been arrested as a leader of the Democratic National Youth League in 1961. Never finished college because of his arrest in 1961. Works at a brewery, providing an income of \$150 per month. His family earns around \$50 additional income. Ha did listen at times to the North Korean radio and on one occasion copied a speech made by Kim Il-sung. Before being arrested in 1974, he knew only 4 of the 21 accused; he also knew Yo Chong Nam who is accused of being the go-between from the PRP to the students. Yo worked as a tutor for Ha's children for one year in 1967; after that their relationship is uncertain; there are seven in his family." His study concludes with the question: "What



Ms. Lee Wu Joung and "PRP" wife at office of Church Women United. Ms. Lee's conscience and the KCIA didn't agree.

could be the purpose of the CIA in bringing together this conglomeration of insignificant men, giving them such a sinister-sounding name, and publicizing that they had as their objective nothing less than the overthrow of the entire Park government (guarded by 600,000 soldiers), and the establishment of a Proletariat-Communist regime? Perhaps they were chosen precisely because they were insignificant.... These men face death and very few people care!"

But Ogle changed all that. If the "suicide" of Professor Tche at the torture chambers of the KCIA's headquarters was, in the words of one journalist, to "mark a watershed for a lot of students" in the fall of 1973, the case of the PRP was to become the same for the Protestant and Catholic Churches in the fall of 1974. Soon people came to learn more about the case and the families began to make a regular appearance at the weekly Thursday morning prayer meetings held at the Christian Building in downtown Seoul. Ogle's first public reference to the case of the PRP came on October 1st. At the prayer meeting on the morning of October 10th, Ogle gave the sermon, in which he urged that his audience of Korean and foreign Christians (as well as the usual quota of CIA agents) also "pray for the members of the PRP, saying that they had undeservedly been given the death sentence." The very next day he was taken in for interrogation. He was ordered, during his detention at Namsan, to sign a pledge that he would thereafter desist from taking up the case of "convicted communists." This he refused to do, and he denied that he was engaging in a political activity, confining himself to remarks on the question of these people's human rights. He took his findings to the U.S. Ambassador, Richard Snyder, in late October, and in November he spoke to an aide of President Ford, who was there for a day on a state visit. He continued in his efforts to reach the public with the PRP case, until the Park regime decided that it could take no more; he was taken in by the CIA yet another time and, on the morning of December 14th, after refusing to sign a statement "renouncing his criticism of the Government of President Park Chung Hee," was immediately served deportation orders, which were carried out the same day. When his plane arrived in Japan at Haneda airport, he was forcibly prevented from deplaning by two CIA agents, who escorted him all the way to the USA. In Washington, on December 20th, he was called to testify before two subcommittees of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Intro to "THEY'RE UNDER THE SENTENCE OF DEATH" by G. Ogle

The original motivation for writing this paper came from a concern for the souls of men who were sentenced to die. It was brought to my attention by a non-Christian friend, that we Christians should be as concerned with the welfare of non-Christians as we are with those of the Christians. Though I knew nothing of the 'People's Revolution Party,' or the men involved in the case, I began to ask questions, and quite by chance came to meet a few of the wives of the men given the death sentence because of their alleged membership in the 'People's Revolutionary Party.' (PRP). Their story was considerably different from the one put out by the CIA. I began to look at old newspapers. I talked with people who knew the case, and I came across a reference to the case in a book.

As a result of this study, I have written this paper. It is my belief that the so-called communist conspiracy announced by the CIA in April of 1974, is basically a fabrication of the CIA itself. There probably did not

exist any organization such as the PRP and the men arrested are probably quite innocent of any involvement in a communist conspiracy, though one or two of them may have some leftist leanings.

My conclusions received a considerable amount of confirmation from an unexpected source: the CIA itself. On October 11th, 1974, I was taken into CIA headquarters for interrogation, because I had urged Christians at a Thursday morning prayer meeting, to pray for the members of the PRP, saying that they had undeservedly been given the death sentence. While at the CIA, I was interrogated from 5:30 p.m. until 3:00 a.m. the next morning. Around midnight I was taken to see a Mr. Lee Young Taek, the Chief of the CIA's 6th division. He said that he was going to prove to me that the PRP people were communists, but to my surprise he told me nothing that I did not already know. He admitted that they had no evidence against the defendants in 1964, but he said that since then they had received the proof. Three spies, he said, had been caught from the North, who gave evidence against the PRP, but he gave no indication what the evidence actually was. Since at least one of the spies was caught in 1970, why had the CIA waited so long before it had arrested the implicated men? If the spy had indeed given evidence against the PRP, then the CIA was certainly negligent in waiting so long before making the arrest.

Mr. Lee went on to say that the final proof had been discovered in the CIA investigation itself. They had found that one of the PRP men had actually listened to the North Korean radio, and had copied a speech by Kim Il Sung. This speech was then passed on to several other people. Mr. Lee did not specify who these 'people' were, or how many of them there were.

Needless to say, Mr. Lee's evidence that the PRP people are communists was not very convincing. The only concrete thing he had, was one man's 'crime' of listening to the North Korean radio, and copying a speech of Kim Il Sung. That is hardly enough reason to sentence eight men to death, and seventeen others to 20 years or life in prison.

Mr. Lee was not finished yet. After supplying his evidence against the PRP, he went into a long tirade, portraying the PRP men as enemies. "We are at war," he said, "just as in the 1950 war. We have to kill these communists. If we don't kill them, they will kill us. We've got to kill them!! If my government does not kill these PRP men, I will go to the national cemetery and confess before the dead soldiers that our country has been sold to the communists. I will also go to the USA, and confess in front of the graves of the soldiers killed in the Korean War, saying that they died in vain. We must kill them, and we will!!"

Mr. Lee's face was lit up with the emotion of battle and victory. He was greatly in love with his mission; but if there is no more evidence against the PRP men than what Mr. Lee showed me, then how can he be so deeply and emotionally involved in the task of killing these men? I think perhaps the reason is to be found in the fact that Mr. Lee was the CIA man directly in charge of the PRP case in 1964. His case was so poor and ill-prepared, that even the government prosecutors didn't believe him. His humiliation was great. For ten years his men have been watching the men connected with the 1964 case. The circumstances of 1974 created the right environment in which Mr. Lee thought he could vindicate himself after the 1964 debacle. The PRP label was again put to use. This time the CIA controlled the whole nation, so it was not hard for Mr. Lee to get death sentences where he had failed in 1964. Mr. Lee's personal vendetta, and desire for revenge account, I believe, for his emotional involvement in the case against the PRP.

The fact that the present CIA chief was the Attorney General in charge of the 1964 debacle also lends support to the personal vendetta interpretation. Now Lee Young Taek and Shin Chik Su can both have their revenge if the PRP men die.

The following is an excerpt from an article entitled "Three Days in Korea," by Jim Stentzel. It first appeared in the October 25, 1974 issue of the bi-weekly Japan Christian Activity News, of which the author is co-editor. While the whole article is of interest (for it deals, in diary form, with his experiences among various church people during the second week of October, just when a concerted government crack-down on dissenting church leaders was once again becoming very pronounced), here we have room to present only the part dealing

with the fateful Thursday morning prayer meeting which ultimately led to the expulsion by the KCIA of the person who gave the sermon that day, the Methodist missionary, George Ogle.

Missionary Ogle Questioned For 5 Hrs.



Mainichi Daily News Dec 14, 1974

SEOUL (UPI)—American missionary G.E. Ogle showed signs of a headache as he was being escorted by a Korean official after five hours of questioning Thursday by Korean immigration authorities for involvement in political activities.

SEOUL (UPI)—American missionary George E. Ogle underwent questioning by South Korean immigration officials for five and a half hours Thursday for the second time this week for alleged involvement in local political movements.

After returning home, Ogle declined to take phone calls because he was so tired and had to sleep, but said through his wife there was no conclusion during the Thursday questioning and he would not make any other comment.

Ogle appeared before the Seoul Immigration Office in downtown Seoul at 2 p.m. Five American and Irish clergymen accompanied him to the office.

Emerging from the office at 7.30 p.m., Ogle refused to answer questions from Korean and foreign reporters but told a Korean clergyman in Korean "Do not worry about me. It seems to me that things are going better."

Pressed for further comments, Ogle said, "I don't like

to say anything. Ask them (Korean officials)."

He briefly talked with George E. Lichtblau, first secretary for labor and social affairs at the American Embassy in Seoul, who had waited for him for about half an hour.

Lichtblau then met with Korean officials who had questioned Ogle. The first secretary refused to comment saying only, "No statement. No statement."

Ogle, from Pittsburgh, Pa., was asked by the Korean Government through the American Embassy last week to promise in writing he would not engage in political activities in South Korea.

Then he was questioned by the Korean Immigration Office Tuesday.

The American missionary, who has lived in Korea for the past 20 years, said after the questioning "as a missionary I don't take sides with any political groups. But at times I speak about human rights and social justice."

Thursday, October 10. I raced to the Christian Building by 10 am, only to discover that the prayer meeting was beginning "on Korean time," 15 minutes later than scheduled. The small room was packed. Ham Suk Hon, the white-haired "Mahatma Gandhi of Korea," looking as majestic as he is wise, sat among a dozen or so rather well-dressed mothers and wives of imprisoned Christians. I stood alongside several plainly dressed women with ruddy complexions. A missionary explained that they were wives of alleged PRP communists," six of whom have been sentenced to death. None of the women are Christian, yet they come because the community shares their pain and struggle....

...George Ogle gave the sermon (in Korean) using Matthew 25:34-40. He mentioned well-known Koreans who have suffered and some who have died in the struggle for justice, saying that such men symbolize Christ's incarnation. But he argued that Christians have not shown much awareness or concern for lesser known men who also symbolize the incarnation: particularly the alleged members of the PRP who had committed no crimes worthy of the death sentence. He said that these men are experiencing more suffering and greater injustice than many of the well prayed-for Christians in prison, and he pleaded the Christian love and compassion for all of God's children.

Seoul Police Arrest Embassy Protesters

Japan Times 11/25/74

SEOUL (UPI) — An American Roman Catholic priest was arrested Thursday when South Korean police illegally entered the U.S. Embassy compound to break up a small demonstration calling U.S. President Gerald Ford's attention to the alleged plight of political prisoners here.

Vicar General James Sinnott of the Incheon diocese was arrested but later released with 19 women who participated in the demonstration.

However, he and the women refused to leave the Jongro Police Station where they were detained and staged a sit-in demonstration there.

It was the second time in a week Sinnott was arrested by South Korean police. He was detained for seven hours Nov. 14 when he knocked helmets off several riot police during a scuffle.

The same thing occurred Thursday when he tried to go to the assistance of relatives of prisoners being held in South Korea for political activities. Such activities are banned by emergency measures instituted by President Park Chung Hee, the host for Ford's 23-hour visit scheduled to start Friday.

Thursday's demonstration

began shortly after noon and lasted for about an hour.

An embassy spokesman said a Korean employee called police to tell them of the demonstration. The spokesman said this was done "through a misunderstanding" and that the employee was not authorized to make the call.

When police arrived they entered the compound, considered American soil under international diplomatic agreements, and began trying to remove the women, who were carrying placards.

"Is Ford supporting the Yushin system?" one of the signs said.

The Yushin system is what Park called a "revitalizing reform" when he declared martial law two years ago.

Other signs called for the release of prisoners being held for violation of emergency measures instituted under the system.

The embassy spokesman said the police entered the compound "without prior consultations with embassy officials."

This was rectified to the embassy's satisfaction when "appropriate Korean officials" apologized for the police action and the demonstrators were released.

Protest Masses Held In S. Korea

Mainichi Daily News 11/13/74

SEOUL (UPI) — Roman Catholics in South Korea Monday held special masses throughout the country demanding the restoration of human rights.

Special prayer meetings were held in Seoul and 13 major provincial cities simultaneously starting at 7 p.m.

It was the first nationwide religious meeting called by the one million Roman Catholics in the country in connection with a domestic political situation.

In Seoul, about 2,000 Catholics gathered at Myongdong Cathedral in a downtown area praying for "those who suffer in cold prison cells for their acts aimed at justice and peace."

They specially prayed for Bishop Daniel Tji Hak Soun, one of 203 persons convicted this year for alleged anti-government activities.

The Catholics first met in a one-hour outdoor prayer session in near freezing weather holding lighted candles and singing

a hymn, "We Will Win a Victory." They continued an indoor session which lasted another hour.

Among those on hand was former opposition politician Kim Dae Jung who was abducted from Tokyo by an unidentified group of Koreans in August last year.

It was a rare public appearance for Kim now in semi-seclusion awaiting trial for alleged election law violations in 1967 and 1971.

Kim, a bitter critic of President Park Chung Hee, refused to comment if his attendance had any political implication on his future course of action.

During the indoor session, the participants heard a sermon calling for "a march onward to fight back human rights."

"We cannot compromise with any one in power to restore human rights in our country. We should commit ourselves to realize justice in this country," the Rev. Park Sang Tae said in his sermon.

Political Prisoners Tortured in S. Korea

Japan Times 11/14/74

SEOUL (AP) — Political prisoners in South Korea have been subjected to torture, a group of prisoners' relatives charged Tuesday.

A letter to the United Nations and the U.S. Government and Congress said hundreds of students, clergymen and other prisoners were "beaten up, tortured with electricity and water."

The letter was signed by 60 persons who have been fasting and praying in a Roman Catholic church building since Monday night.

Reporters for the Dong-A Ilbo, South Korea's most widely circulated newspaper, and Radio Dong-A, a sister commercial station, staged a protest against management's refusal to give prominent play to the prayer and fasting protest.

Among those joining in the torture charges were former First Lady Yun Po Sun, the mother of dissident poet Kim Chi Ha and the younger brother of Roman Catholic bishop Daniel Tji.

Former President Yun was sentenced to a suspended three-year prison term, Bishop Tji drew a 15-year imprisonment and the poet was sentenced to death but subsequently had the penalty commuted to a life term, all under two stiff security decrees earlier this year.

They were among 203 South Koreans convicted under two presidential decrees banning opposition to the Government.

The Dong-A Ilbo did not publish its Tuesday editions as newsmen struck in the dispute with management.

Radio Dong-A joined the protest by substituting music for its hourly newscasts Tuesday.

Some 180 newsmen of the major paper had demanded prominent play for reports on the prayer meeting Monday night to demand political reforms by the Government, including restoration of press and other freedoms.

Former opposition leader Kim Dae Jung was among those attending the meeting at Myungdong Cathedral.

A management spokesman said the newsmen's request constituted an infringement of editors' rights in producing papers rather than involving an issue of press freedom.

But late in the evening, the newsmen agreed to resume work Wednesday after hearing a pledge by the managing editor that he would do his utmost to observe press freedom.

There is no formal press censorship in Korea but the Government has asked publishers to exercise what they call self-censorship to protect national interests.

Free Our Men, ROK Wives Urge

MDA

Mainichi Daily News 10/31/74

A civil body in Tokyo to promote friendship between Japan and the Republic of Korea Tuesday distributed letters written by four Korean women whose husbands were put into custody last April and May on charges of violating the April 3 presidential emergency decree.

Shin Aochi, leader of the Japan-Korea liaison council of friendship, told the press that the council made the disclosure of the letters to impress on the conscience of the world the innocence of the Koreans who had been sentenced to death or life imprisonment by a court martial.

The women said in their letters that they heard their husbands tell the martial law court that they had been severely tortured.

After the torture their husbands were forced one way or another to sign statements drawn up by Korean investi-

gators. According to their letters, three of the four men sentenced to death were arrested on charges of trying to rebuild what Korean authorities call the "Jinmin Kakumei-to"—literally People's Revolutionary Party—which, the KCIA claims, pulled the strings of the Democratic Youth-Student League.

According to the Japan-Korea liaison council, the letters were written in September after the second hearing of the martial law court in the case.

The four women tried in vain to appeal to the Korean press at first, the council said. The letters were then sent to Japan so that they would receive worldwide publicity.

The Korean women asked for all out support for their husbands and other suspects so that they will be cleared of false charges and spared unreasonable suffering.

Seoul Ousts U.S. Clergyman Who Criticized Regime

Special to The New York Times

SEOUL, South Korea, Dec. 14 —The South Korean Government today expelled an American missionary, accusing him of having disrupted social order and fomented anti-Government demonstrations.

The 45-year-old missionary educator, a resident of Korea for 20 years, was handed the deportation order this morning after he rejected an official demand that he sign a statement renouncing his criticism of the Government of President Park Chung Wee.

"I told them I violated no Korean laws, and that I would choose my faith rather than their law," he said. Dr. Ogle had been under heavy pressure to leave the country or stop his criticism of the Government for the arrests of students, re-



ligious figures and other dissidents.

U.S. Embassy Voices 'Regret'

A United States Embassy spokesman said he "regretted" the step but did not say what measures might be taken on behalf of other American mis-

sionaries here, who number more than 830.

A Government statement today said that Dr. Ogle had been asked several times not to engage in political activities but that "he did not show the slightest sign of remorse."

In addition to teaching at Seoul National University, Dr. Ogle was engaged prominently in organizational activity

among slum workers seeking to improve their labor conditions.

Recently, he incurred the special anger of the Government by trying to champion the cause of alleged members of the People's Revolutionary party jailed by the Government on charges of Communist espionage. Families of the imprisoned persons have obtained signatures of leading religious

figures here to demand an "open and fair trial" for them.

Christian circles in Seoul expressed shock at the expulsion of Dr. Ogle. "It will affect the activities of all other missionaries," commented the Rev. Kim Kwan Suk, secretary general of the National Council of Churches. "This is a serious

blow to us," said a member of Association of Jailed Persons, weeping.

Christians number more than 10 per cent of South Korea's population of 34 million.

A MISSIONARY'S LAST SERMON

DECEMBER 27, 1974

By A Correspondent

FAR EASTERN ECONOMIC REVIEW

Seoul: By expelling American Methodist missionary George Ogle, the South Korean Government may signal the beginning of a new era in relations with the United States. To Koreans, the meaning of the *Yushin* (revitalising constitution), brought in under martial law in 1972, has been repeatedly hammered home — there must be unquestioned loyalty to the aims and methods of the Park regime.

But American residents here who sometimes scoffed at the euphemism "Koreanised democracy" have now been forewarned that they too will be punished if they join Koreans in questioning the Constitution, especially its anti-communist foundation.

Ogle had committed the sin of advocating, on behalf of their families, the release of six men who were sentenced to death and three to life or 20 years' jail earlier this year for allegedly masterminding a communist conspiracy to overthrow the Government. The nine men were sentenced under Park's dreaded fourth emergency decree, issued in April, which has since been repealed. The Korean Central Intelligence Agency (KCIA) claimed they were "genuine communists" who had organised a People's Revolutionary Party (PRP), under North Korean guidance, for the purpose of setting up a workers' and peasants' movement after their student followers had created chaos through campus demonstrations.

Without the PRP, the Government had little or no basis for the wholesale repression of the opposition this year. Those caught in the Government's net included such unlikely suspects as former president Yun Po Sun, leading intel-

lectuals and churchmen, the leaders of the Korean Christian Student Federation, and scores of other students.

Ogle, 45, had been a missionary here since 1954. He helped organise South Korea's first urban industrial mission in Inchon to teach a nascent working class the rudiments of more than a century of American unionism. After a stint at the University of Wisconsin, where he earned a PhD in labour management, Ogle returned to Seoul last year as a professor at Seoul National University.

When new KCIA Director Shin Jik Su announced on April 25 the results of an investigation into the alleged PRP conspiracy, Ogle was reminded of a similar case ten years ago. At that time, there were widespread demonstrations against Park's policy of normalising relations with Japan. There was also a PRP, thirteen members of which were convicted under the stiff anti-communist law for instigating the student demonstrations in hopes, the KCIA said, of overthrowing the Government.

Ogle carried out some research in newspaper files and found that four of the thirteen men indicted in 1964 were among those in the PRP of 1974. He also learned that three of the four prosecutors originally assigned to the 1964 case had resigned after voting for dismissal of all charges due to lack of evidence. According to Ogle, the judge even ruled that there was no evidence linking the defendants with North Korea as the KCIA had charged.

Ogle was particularly surprised to learn that the Attorney-General at that time was Shin Jik Su. He replaced Lee Hu Rak as head of the KCIA in December 1973. As chief prosecutor in 1964,

Shin suffered a humiliating loss of face when all he could obtain from the then more independent courts on re-trial was a three-year sentence for one defendant, lighter sentences for six others and suspended terms for the remaining six. The only evidence of a communist taint disclosed in the trials, Ogle learned, was that one of the men had listened to broadcasts from Pyongyang and on one occasion wrote down a speech by North Korean President Kim Il Sung.

Thus, Ogle deduced that there must have been an element of personal pride at stake in this year's case, not only for Shin but also for Lee Young Taik, head of the feared Sixth Bureau of the KCIA (in charge of investigation), who was also personally involved in the previous case.

After the tumultuous events of August, when Park's wife was killed by an assassin's bullet, and the President then rescinded emergency decrees one and four, the movement for the abolition of the Constitution and amnesty for all political prisoners burst out anew. Long known for his support of human rights for workers, Ogle was sought out by the wives of the PRP prisoners, asking the missionary to help gain their release since they had not been included in any hints of amnesty leaked to the media by the Government.

The wives tearfully insisted to Ogle that their husbands had not been meeting each other in recent years; indeed some did not even know each other, they told him. Above all, they said their husbands were not communists and certainly could not have been part of any conspiracy, since most had long been under KCIA surveillance. Having done his

homework and been convinced that a massive injustice was being perpetrated, Ogle started preaching on behalf of the prisoners at a series of weekly prayer meetings for their families which began in early October.

Shortly afterwards, KCIA Sixth Bureau chief Lee summoned Ogle. After a lengthy interrogation-indoctrination session, Ogle claimed Lee suddenly flew into a desk-pounding rage, promising that the PRP prisoners would be executed "because they were genuine communists."

Ogle agreed to yield to KCIA warnings that he stop preaching about the PRP case. He kept that pledge, but continued participating in the growing movement for a general amnesty for political pri-

soners and constitutional amendment. He subsequently received an ultimatum from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, via the US Embassy, saying that if he did not apologise for his activities and promise in writing to cease all political agitation he would be expelled. At a prayer meeting one week later, Ogle said: "That's the same thing they asked Bishop Chi Hak Sun and three Protestant ministers to sign before they could get out of prison. They haven't signed and I won't either."

The Gospel was the basis for Ogle's appeal for human rights and social justice. This is a far broader interpretation of the Gospel than the Government is apparently willing to permit foreigners or nationals to preach. Because of his

refusal to repent, the Government decided that it had no choice but to deport him.

Ogle was the first American missionary in living memory to be expelled from South Korea. He may not be last. The American Vicar of the Incheon Diocese has also received a threat of deportation for ostensibly the same reasons, as have two other priests, a Belgian and an Irishman.

But the real impact of Ogle's expulsion may have been intended for Koreans, whether or not they are Christians. The Government could hardly arrest any more prominent Koreans for their political beliefs, yet it obviously feels compelled to stop the movement.

The long arm of President Park

Tokyo: The South Korean Government's silencing of American missionary George Ogle continued after he was expelled from the country, creating an international incident at Tokyo's Haneda airport. Soon after his Korean Air Lines' (KAL) flight landed in Tokyo on December 14, an American Catholic missionary in South Korea, who was accompanying Ogle, approached two American newsmen and asked for their help: Ogle was being held prisoner aboard the Boeing 747 and was seeking assistance from the US Embassy in Tokyo. The reporters gave the embassy's telephone number to the priest and then proceeded towards the aircraft.

The plane was empty except for the crew, Ogle and four plainclothes South Korean policemen. The policemen reportedly struggled with newsmen when they entered the plane,

even though they insisted on Ogle's right to meet the press and to disembark and seek embassy assistance. The plane's captain, Kim Ho Youn, told the reporters that the aircraft was "Korean soil where Korean law applies." He also explained that he was under strict orders "from higher authorities" to take Ogle incommunicado to the final destination (Los Angeles).

The newsmen were then forcibly removed from the aircraft by Japanese policemen called by KAL. The Japanese police said at the time, and have repeated since, that they did not understand Ogle was being illegally kept on board — and that if they had known they would have assisted him. Yet the reporters had tried to tell them of Ogle's plight and had demanded that the Japanese police tell the KAL captain he was in Japan, where local law applied, even to a foreign aircraft.

Meanwhile, the US Embassy, reached by telephone 20 minutes be-

fore Ogle's scheduled departure, told the Catholic missionary there was nothing, they could do to assist Ogle in such a short time.

The incident once again raised the issue of Japanese police negligence, if not complicity, in dealing with South Korean authorities acting illegally on Japanese soil — a problem that is still very much alive sixteen months after the Korean Central Intelligence Agency's kidnapping of former South Korean opposition leader Kim Dae Jung from a Tokyo hotel. A Japanese, daily, *Mainichi Shimbun*, put the Ogle case in this context and demanded some answers from Japanese police and the Foreign Ministry.

Ogle is related to the Board of Global Ministries of the 10 million-member United Methodist Church in the US. The board has 777 missionaries around the world. Two of them, Milo and Judith Thornberry, were deported from Taiwan in early 1971 on similar charges of engaging in "political activity." DECEMBER 27 1974

FAR EASTERN ECONOMIC REVIEW

Park: Looking for guarantees

DECEMBER 20, 1974

Seoul: The South Korean Government is willing to release political prisoners once it gets guarantees from the Catholic Church, the Korean Student Christian Federation and other religious groups, that they will cease the anti-Government protests which, this autumn, have been led largely by Christians. However, the groups are refusing to cooperate.

Meanwhile, the Government is bargaining with the US Embassy for some assurance that the American missionaries in South Korea will stay

in line in return for complying with a US request for some form of prisoner-release in order to tidy up the South Korean Government's image in Congress. Also, South Korea is annoyed that before US President Gerald Ford left Seoul on November 23, he asked a top aide to stay behind and hear reports from missionaries sympathetic to the anti-Park struggles and wants the Embassy to retract some of the increased credibility that dissident Christians in general, and missionaries in particular, received from that audience.

One of the key men involved in the recent bargaining was the Reverend George Ogle, a soft-spoken, 45-year-old United Methodist missionary, who has befriended labourers in recent years and prisoners' rela-

tives in recent months. Until December 6, the Government chose to threaten Ogle personally, but since then has taken its case directly to the US Embassy and asked for their co-operation. The tactic is not unrelated to the US pressure for the release of prisoners.

The Government is aware that of the handful of prisoners who have been released this year, most have continued anti-Government work with new dedication. The Government is therefore being very cautious before it accedes to growing domestic demands to unlock the prison cells. When the prisoners are released they are expected to be under strict parole: Those who renew their protests will be locked up again and this time the keys will be thrown away.

7 Dissidents Doomed by Seoul Said to Be Spies

By FOX BUTTERFIELD

Special to The New York Times

SEOUL, South Korea—They came to the door before sunrise one day last April, saying they were workers from her husband's construction company. But, a week after they took him away, Mrs. To Ye Jong read in the newspaper that her husband was in jail, accused of being the leader of a Communist spy group called the People's Revolutionary party.

For Mrs. To, a 45-year-old former schoolteacher, it was like reliving an old nightmare. In 1964 her husband was convicted on the same charge, and served three years in prison.

But this time Mr. To and six other men have been sentenced to be executed. According to Mrs. To and other relatives of defendants who were allowed to attend the closed military trial, the men testified that they had been tortured into making confessions and that they had not been permitted to call witnesses in their defense.

The wives of several of the defendants say that the men did not even know one another before their arrest.

The case, in which 21 men were found guilty, is one of the most bizarre in South Korea's history of political repression. It is also a critically important case, because the Government cited the People's Revolutionary party, as the reason for President Park Chung Hee's emergency decrees last April cracking down on his opponents and banning all dissidence. The Government said that the group, acting under orders from the Communist Government in North Korea, had organized student demonstrations against Mr. Park.

Convictions Lack Credibility

A total of 203 persons, including South Korea's only living former President, a Roman Catholic bishop and the country's best known poet, were convicted under the decree and an earlier one last winter. Without the vital link to North Korea allegedly provided by the People's Revolutionary party, these convictions would have lacked even the little credibility they had.

Mr. Park has since lifted the decrees, after the assassination of his wife in August, and higher courts have reduced the sentences of some of the students, clergymen, and intellectuals convicted under them.

But an authoritative Government official said that Mr. Park would not commute the sentences of the members of the People's Revolutionary party and plans to have them



Mr. and Mrs. Woo Hung Sun. He is one of seven men sentenced to death for alleged participation in a group described by the South Korean regime as subversive.

executed.

Despite the severity of the penalties, few South Koreans have dared question the verdict in the case. An American Methodist missionary, George Ogle, who talked about the case during a meeting of the Korean National Council of Churches, was detained overnight by the South Korean Central Intelligence Agency and has been told that he may lose his visa.

The account that follows has been pieced together from the tangled statements of family members, who were warned not to talk about the case, a spokesman for the court-martial and other Government officials. No outsiders except one relative for each defendant were permitted to attend the court sessions inside the Ministry of National Defense.

There are many disputed points and unresolved puzzles in the case.

Although Government officials have said in interviews that four spies captured while infiltrating from North Korea had provided vital information on the People's Revolutionary party, they did not testify at the trial.

A spokesman for the Defense Ministry said that the prosecution did produce three other witnesses against the 21 defendants. But the spokesman added that "several" of these witnesses had also "testified for the defendants, because of conflicting statements made by them." Family members assert

there were no witnesses for either the defense or the prosecution.

Much of the Government's evidence seems fragmentary. Against Mr. To, the prosecutors produced an unmarked envelope that had contained money for his maid, and three books, all printed in Seoul, including one by Kim Dae Jung, the opposition leader kidnapped from a Tokyo hotel room last year by the South Korean Central Intelligence Agency.

The Government's most important evidence, a spokesman for the Ministry of National Defense said, consisted of a speech broadcast on the radio by President Kim Il Sung of North Korea and copied down by one of the defendants, Ha Jae Wan. But relatives of the defendants asserted that the Government had not shown how these notes were related to the group's alleged effort to organize students and overthrow President Park.

While four of the wives said their husbands had testified that their confession had been extracted by torture, the Defense Ministry spokesman said, "at no time during the proceedings did the defendants say they had been tortured." The spokesman added that "pre-trial investigations revealed they had been rather well treated."

As Mrs. Woo Hung Sun recalls her husband's testimony, he told the military judge:

"I thought if they beat me any longer my heart would break. The C.I.A. agent who was torturing me was drunk, and he took my hand and forced me to sketch out a signature on the confession."

But Mrs. Woo says that when her husband, a bookkeeper, asked the judge to compare the signature with his real one, the judge replied, "Sit down and be quiet."

Mr. Woo, a 44-year-old wounded veteran of the Korean war, was sentenced to death. He had been convicted and given a suspended sentence in 1964. According to his wife, he knew only one of the other prisoners.

C.I.A. Chief Had Role

There are other strange circumstances in the case. The present director of the Central Intelligence Agency, Shin Jik Soo, was South Korea's attorney general in 1964 in charge of prosecuting the earlier indictment against the People's Revolutionary party. The present head of the South Korean C.I.A.'s sixth bureau, in charge of this year's investigation, was one of the main agents in the 1964 case.

In the earlier case, three of the four prosecutors, because of a lack of evidence, resigned rather than bring the men to trial. When only two of the 47 men arrested as members of the People's Revolutionary party in 1964 were convicted, the Government held a second trial using a different charge. Thirteen men were found guilty in that second trial 10 years ago, and most of them have been under regular police surveillance since their release from prison.

Western intelligence specialists say that they believe there is a group called the People's Revolutionary party operating in South Korea and that it may have up to 60 small cells of three or four men each.

But these officials also say it is doubtful that many, if any, of those under arrest now are members of the actual People's Revolutionary party.

To Mrs. Ha Jae Wan, whose husband copied the speech of North Korea's President, the whole experience has been "like being hit by a hit-and-run driver."

When her husband, a brewery worker, told the judge that he had been tortured for three days in the basement of the C.I.A.'s headquarters and not allowed to sleep, one of the prosecutors shouted: "You obviously haven't been tortured enough."

Mr. Ha, who is 42, provided the Government's only link be-

tween the People's Revolutionary party and the students in that eight years ago he had hired a student named Yoo Chong Nam to tutor his children. Mr. Yoo has been accused of having been the chief organizer of the student demonstrations. He was also sentenced to death.

As a result of Mr. Ha's conviction his five children have been physically mistreated or ostracized by their schoolmates,

Mrs. Ha said. The eldest son, 18, had to drop out of high school after repeated fights in which he lost several teeth and received a bad gash on his forehead.

The youngest, a 3-year-old boy, was tied to a tree and beaten with sticks by classmates and his teachers in a kindergarten he attends.

Jon Chang Il, another of the defendants, was a native of North Korea who fled south in

1950 to escape the regimentation of his life working in a fertilizer factory. During the Korean war he served as an interpreter with the United States Army, and in recent years he had become a foreman for a construction company.

According to his wife, who is 40, Mr. Jon was not at all political. So she was surprised when he was taken away by police agents late one night

last spring. Mr. Jon, who was not arrested in the 1964 case, received a life sentence.

Now Mrs. Jon is angry. "An old Korean proverb says, even the most humble insect writhes when you step on it," she said. "My husband was the kind of man who would have no idea what to do if you gave him the Government. How would he know how to overthrow it?"

Woo Death Sentence Stirs Furor

The Clerk Who Didn't Come Home

By DON OBERDORFER

The Washington Post

SEOUL — One day last May, Woo Hung Sun didn't come home from his job as a clerk at a small construction firm. Instead, some secret police arrived to search his house and belongings. They took away a portable radio the family had bought several days earlier as a present for the oldest daughter, who is 18, and said not to worry — "Mr. Woo will be back soon."

A few days later, the family learned that Woo had been charged with being an activist of a group they called a "People's Revolutionary Party" and plotting "the most serious high treason against the state in the history of the Republic of Korea." He was subsequently tried by closed military court-martial and sentenced to death for violating President Park Chung Hee's decrees against political dissidence.

The decrees have since been rescinded, but Woo and six others with similar cases are still under death sentence. Unless there is a change of heart in high places, that sentence soon may be carried out.

The case of Woo and other alleged members of a Communist apparatus — and the misfortunes of their families — have drawn increasing attention here and abroad in recent months. This is particularly so since the deportation last December of an American, The Rev. George E. Ogle, a Methodist missionary who delved into the background of the accused and championed their cause.

Ogle's efforts on behalf of "People's Revolutionary Party" defendants and their families were cited prominently in the government's public statement on his deportation. Since Ogle's departure, secret police agents have pressured wives and relatives to cease their protests on behalf of the imprisoned men. In at least two cases, secret police have forced women to sign statements that their husbands

are guilty — though the wives insist the truth is otherwise.

The story goes back to 1964, during a time of heated controversy over normalization of Korea's relations with Japan, its former colonial ruler. In mid 1964, the government arrested 46 persons — all but 13 of whom were subsequently released — on charges of Communist instigation of anti-Japanese student demonstrations.

A secret group, the "People's Revolutionary Party." The evidence was so scanty that three of the four assigned prosecutors urged the charges should be dropped and refused to take part in the case when higher-ups insisted on pushing ahead.

In the first trial, 11 of the 13 defendants were acquitted. The government shifted to another set of charges and tried the men again. This time all 13 were convicted but received relatively light punishment, ranging from suspended sentences to three-year prison terms.

A research paper by Ogle charged that the 1964 prosecutions were designed to put a "Red" label on the movement against normalization with Japan, and thus justify its suppression. The point of the recent prosecutions, Ogle maintained, was to put a "Red" tag on the protest movement against President Park Chung Hee's martial law takeover.

The 21 men recently accused of involvement in the alleged "People's Revolutionary Party" — seven of whom have been sentenced to death and the other 14 to prison terms from 20 years to life — are charged with manipulating the antigovernment movement on behalf of North Korean Communists. This charge of Communist manipulation by the "PRP" is the backbone of Park's justification for the harsh measures against his domestic opposition.

The Ogle memorandum, based on interviews with family members and attorneys, said the only evidence presented to the court-

martial consisted of written confessions the defendants had been forced to sign. Ogle charged that some of the defendants had been tortured.

In an interview, Mrs. Woo said her husband told the court he had been given electric shocks until he wanted more than anything to die. She quoted her husband as testifying that after torture and interrogation, an agent took his hand and forcibly made him write his name and affix his thumbprint to a confession.

Woo is a former captain of the South Korean Army, wounded in action in battle against the North. In the 1964 case, he was acquitted in the first trial and given a suspended sentence after conviction in the second trial. Mrs. Woo said he knew only three of the other men accused of being his confederates in the "People's Revolutionary Party" and that she had never heard him speak of such a group.

A spokesman for the Ministry of National Defense, which handled the prosecution and court-martials in the recent cases, denied charges of torture which have been made by family members of several of the accused. The spokesman, Lee Yang Woo, displayed eight portable radios and several handwritten notebooks as "substantial evidence" against alleged PRP members. The notebooks allegedly contain copies of speeches by North Korean President Kim Il Sung.

"One of the radios was a National Panasonic AM-FM-short-wave radio like this," Lee maintained. Under questioning he conceded that such sets are commercially available in South Korea and are not illegal — though listening to North Korean radio on any set is illegal. Lee claimed that Woo admitted listening to the Communist radio and copying statements of Kim Il Sung.

Mrs. Woo said the radio had been bought just a few days before her husband's arrest as a present for her 18-year-old daughter. The girl is very fond of music but the family lacked enough money to purchase a piano. They bought this radio for \$75 at a local store because it had a good tone for FM music, she said.

"I can't believe my husband will be killed — how can a man be executed who has committed no crime?" she asked. The minimum demand of family members and their friends is a trial in free and open court where everyone can hear the evidence and testimony, she said. (The courts-martial were closed to the public, though family members and attorneys were permitted on a restricted basis.)

After the deportation of Rev. Ogle, Mrs. Woo and other family members of "PRP" defendants were taken to Korean Central Intelligence Agency (KCIA) (secret police) headquarters and asked to stop their appearances at protest-oriented prayer meetings and cease other activities asking for clemency and public trials. After 36 hours of interrogation, Mrs. Woo signed a statement agreeing to refrain from street demonstrations. But she continued to declare her husband's innocence.

The wife of another defendant tearfully told a prayer meeting of prisoners' relatives that she had signed a statement at secret police headquarters saying her husband was guilty "because I wasn't strong enough."

The more prominent Koreans, whose convictions are based on their supposed connections with the personnel and purposes of the "People's Revolutionary Party," include the only living ex-president of South Korea, a Roman Catholic bishop, Protestant ministers, a leading poet and well-known politicians, intellectuals and student leaders.

Friday, Feb. 14, 1975 Pacific Stars & Stripes

The Dong-a Ilbo + the 'blanket release'

As we have already seen, Ogle was expelled not because of "what he knew" so much as because of his disinclination to keep it to himself. At a prayer service for the prisoners in October, he sought Christian concern for non-Christian prisoners. When he specifically cited the case of the "PRP" the KCIA agents among his audience wasted no time in reporting him; he was taken in to Namsan the same day. His refusal to cease speaking in public about the case eventually led to his expulsion.

Ogle was not alone in getting such warnings. Ms. Lee Wu Joung, Chairwoman of Church Women United, and Reverend Yoon Hyun, the Director of the Korean Committee of Amnesty International, were both, on different occasions, taken in by the KCIA and held overnight for "questioning." Release was conditioned on their pledge to break all connections with the families of the defendants. Ms. Lee refused outright, stating that "even if the PRP men were communists, my Christian conscience commands that I must help whomever needs it." In Rev. Yoon's case, the matter was put to a vote by the Executive Board of the AI Korean Committee, which decided that the relief program on behalf of the other political prisoners should not be jeopardized. (This decision caused an internal feud within the Committee that has yet to subside.)

So by the end of 1974 it was apparent that, though the official story of the "PRP" conspiracy had already sprung serious leaks and that in its place another version was gaining currency, one that told of a far more insidious conspiracy (not by the people against the state, but by the state against the people), the government still hoped, by threats and sudden detentions, intimidation of wives and loved ones, torture and imprisonment, to contain its flood. With Ogle already having opened his files not only before the press in New York, but—more ominously for the Park regime—but before those Congresspeople in Washington who annually decide its financial fate, there was not much hope left internationally. But the home front had to be held, whatever the cost in repression. If doubts could not be satisfied through the publication of evidence, hodling of public trials before nonpartisan observers, etc., then more repression was the only answer. No longer was this required merely so that the "external threat trick" might have renewed application in the coming years as "crisis" should dictate. No, matters had moved beyond that. Now the "crisis" had reached a much more fundamental level, that of public faith in the legitimacy of the government, confidence in its claim to rule by law. The crisis had deepened, more people (and not the intellectuals, writers, students and clergy in Seoul) had seen the regime unmasked. At stake, of course, was the survival of the government itself.

Until the end of 1974 the churches posed the primary problem. Although Butler, in his famous Amnesty report of August 1974, had already concluded that none of the 203 (including the "PRP") tried under the Emergency Measures were guilty of the extravagant crimes with which they had been charged, the Korean Committee, though frequently repressed by

the regime nonetheless, did not, as a matter of universal Amnesty policy, involve itself in domestic cases. Beginning in October there were the usual university demonstrations, but they never touched on the "PRP" specifically (though they did take up the issue of political prisoners and the terror tactics of the KCIA). And so long as the press was effectively controlled, with KCIA agents sitting alongside the editors at the news desks, there was no fear from that quarter. This left the churches, especially the Korean NCC and the Church Women United, which time and again defied KCIA orders to drop the "PRP", very nearly as isolated as the "PRP" men themselves. The public had not the slightest inkling of the doubts that were creeping in, reliant as it was on a censored press for information.

All that changed abruptly when, on October 24, 1974, some 180 reporters and young editors of the Tong-a Ilbo, the ROK's largest paper, shut down the presses. Only after the management finally agreed to their demands, among them that the KCIA would thereafter be denied entry into the editorial rooms of the paper, did the reporters go back to work. Hankuk Ilbo and several other major Seoul dailies followed suit. The end of November saw a handful of papers which were, to varying degrees, enjoying the freedom to print what they pleased, free from government controls. In late December, twenty of the Dong-a Ilbo's big, regular advertisers suddenly canceled their contracts, leaving the paper abruptly without 80% of its monthly advertising income. This was reported in desperate tones by the stricken paper, and its readers faithfully came to the rescue, taking out individual ads of support. Overnight Dong-a Ilbo was thrust into the leading role of the movement for return to democratic rule and civil rights. Within weeks its fame had circled the globe, with all major newsmagazines and newspapers carrying stories on the "lonely stand of the brave Dong-a." Its circulation also shot up overnight, from 600,000 to 800,000. The government attempt to "execute" the paper by financial strangulation, then, became an unexpected gift to the opposition movement, the churches, and the families of the "PRP," all of whom had, until then, been isolated from the people. The Dong-a turned to the people for help, and in return it gave them the kind of news that they had not been able to read since the institution of martial law in 1972.

Among the ads taken out in late January was one by the "Families of the Prisoners" (pp.50-51). Also, the Dong-a began carrying front-page stories about the Thursday morning prayer meetings along with revelations concerning the "PRP" case. For over a month, from mid-January to late February, the shocking allegations of the wives became national reading. This would never have been the case had Park not made the fatal December move of trying to cut off the paper from its advertisers — a fact which brought criticism down on the government from a very unexpected quarter: members of the government party ridiculed the ineptness of the government in the National Assembly in late January.

That Park should choose precisely this most critical of times for the sudden release of the Emergency Measures prisoners (which, according to the political grapevine last fall, had been scheduled for the beginning of 1975) is next to impossible to understand unless one speculates as to what sort of exchange took place when Ford met Park in November.

Rumor has it that Ford offered to push another generous aid bill through Congress as a quid pro quo for easing off on the repression, which was beginning to cause him some embarrassment before those who would ultimately be footing the bill, the U.S. taxpayers.

In any case, 168 of the 203 prisoners who had spent nearly a year in prison for violation of EMs 1 and 4, were suddenly set free within hours of Park's February 15th announcement. It was stressed that the release was conditional and was in no way to be regarded as an amnesty. Those people who would "bring harm to the national consensus" by "instigating doubts in the minds of the people" would go right back to prison. None of the "communists" ("PRP") were freed, nor was it announced as to when their cases would come up for review by the Supreme Court. Many people speculated that they would be tried within a week or two, and then abruptly executed. For eight of them, the gallows were growing closer...

In the latter half of February several things happened which brought the movement for human rights in south Korea an even larger following. First, and most important, was the description of their incarceration by those just released, as published in the only available nationwide forum, the Dong-a Ilbo. The interviews of four such ex-prisoners reached shocked readers in the February 17th issue. A few days later the

Newsweek, January 27, 1975

The Unmuzzable Dong-a

South Korean President Park Chung Hee has never taken kindly to criticism of his repressive regime. And as a result, the press in his land has traditionally operated under tight government controls. Agents of the Korean Central Intelligence Agency are fixtures in the city rooms of newspapers and stories that meet with their displeasure are simply deleted before press time. As for newsmen who have run-ins with the KCIA, they often find themselves hauled off for interrogation or even an occasional beating.

This hammerlock hold on the media was loosened somewhat last year when U.S. President Gerald Ford stopped in Seoul on his way to the Vladivostok summit. Anxious to make a good impression on his visitor, Park temporarily relaxed the political atmosphere in Korea. And ever since, reporters on Seoul's newspapers, most notably Korea's largest and oldest daily, the Dong-a Ilbo (Oriental Daily News), have been gingerly feeling out the limits of free speech—even going so far as to give front-page play to strident anti-government demonstrations by Park's foes.

But that much freedom of the press is apparently too much for Park to tolerate. Several weeks ago the Dong-a Ilbo was surprised to learn that its twenty major advertisers had decided to stop buying space in the paper. Next, 42 firms that regularly advertise on the Dong-a's radio station announced that they too were canceling

their business. Government officials quickly denied any involvement in the matter.

"This is strictly a matter between the newspaper and its customers," intoned Lee Kyu Hyan, Vice Minister of Culture and Information. But several customers reported otherwise. "Advertisers were called in by government officials," explained one Dong-a employee, "and were told, 'You had better withdraw the ads for reasons you can best imagine'." The reasons included possible tax inves-

tigation and cancellation of bank loans.

Although the Dong-a's anti-government stand gave Park reason enough to move against it, the President has other motives for revenge as well. The newspaper's staff has also been a major force in unionizing South Korean journalists who are demanding an end to government meddling in editorial affairs. Last fall its reporters led a much-publicized strike to call attention to their crusade and the copydesk is now decorated with a poster reading "Practice and Defend Freedom of the Press."

So far the government has been unable either to rein in the recalcitrant reporters or bankrupt the paper. To make up for lost revenue from the advertising cancellations, for example, reporters have begun working overtime hustling additional ad sales and boosting circulation. Already hundreds of tiny sympathy ads have poured into the business office and Dong-a officials claim circulation has increased by 100,000 (to 800,000) during the crisis. Moreover, reporters of two other major dailies have issued strong statements supporting the paper. "The agony of Dong-a Ilbo," read one resolution, "is that of Chosun Ilbo too."

This outpouring of support has not gone unnoticed by the omnipresent Korean intelligence services. Last week army security agents saw that an unidentified South Korean Army lieutenant had placed a sympathy ad in the Dong-a. Eager to discover who he was, they immediately arrested the paper's ad manager and two other business officials and then pressured Dong-a's executives into not reporting the incident in the papers. But the Dong-a staffers refused to be cowed. Employees staged a sit-in at the paper's offices, refusing to budge until their colleagues were finally freed at the weekend.



Paul Brinkley Rogers—Newsweek

Dong-a city room: 'Defend Freedom of the Press'

paper described in terrifying detail the tortures endured by Na Byong-Shik, one of the NDYSF leaders. Then, on February 25th, only a day after the Minister of Justice had rejected all calls for an open trial with the announcement that the government had full evidence against the PRP defendants, the paper began a long serialized article by Kim Chi Ha, entitled "Penance" (pp. 68-69). Kim told of a conversation that he had had in the prison yard with Ha Chae Wan, an alleged "PRP" member who was sentenced to death in the secret military courts, and was, at the time when Kim met him, awaiting his Supreme Court trial. Ha told him that the only "evidence" which the government had against him was his confession, which had been tortured out of him.

More government warnings followed, fast and furious. Park himself joined the Justice Minister in issuing a stern warning, saying that those calling for an open, public trial were aiding Communists and abetting the North. Such people would be charged with violation of the Anti-Communist Law.

At a February 28th press conference at Myongdong Cathedral in downtown Seoul, a group of Catholic priests released their long, detailed study of the case (pp. 57-66). On the same day the Dong-a carried a summary of their findings, along with the damning conclusion—that the whole case was nothing more than a government fabrication, from start to finish. The government could take no more. The crackdown on the Dong-a dates from that time, though, for once, the measures taken were so subtle and unexpected that they went unnoticed until after it was already too late. A new man was introduced to the top editorial post, then began firing those reporters who had led the union struggle and had made the newspaper free in the first place, back in October. By mid-March stories about the atrocities perpetrated against the poor men of the "PRP" were gone from its pages.

The crackdown did not end there, however. On March 14th, on his way to the Thursday morning prayer meeting, Kim Chi Ha was dragged in by the KCIA again. After only 27 days out of prison, he was arrested, charged with violation of Article 4 of the Anti-Communist Law, and thrown into prison to await trial. The government had held to its word. And a week later Han Suk Hun, one of south Korea's leading lawyers, the head of poet Kim's hastily organized legal defense team, a founding member of the Korean Section of Amnesty International, and a prominent speaker and writer on the subject of human rights, was also arrested and charged with violation of the same law. (Though his indictment specified as his "crime" the publication of an essay which advocated the end of capital punishment, since the same essay had won not so much as a visit from the KCIA or even a mild warning when originally published in 1972, everyone understood his arrest as intended to deny Kim Chi Ha an effective legal defense.

In April the long arm of the KCIA extended to the churches. Kim Gwan Syk, head of the KNCC, was taken in for a week, but then released. Several pastors were arrested and indicted for embezzlement, though, again, their real crime amounted to speaking out at church meetings on torture, political imprisonment, or the cases of the "PRP." Reverend Moon was arrested on April 10th, only minutes after delivering a sermon in which he mourned the executions of the eight men the day before.

The following appeal, which appeared in the advertising space of the Dong-a Ilbo of January 28, 1975 (at a time when that paper had yet to submit to government pressure and was still open to dissenting opinions and independent reporting critical of the government,) was carried by the relatives of those accused in the so-called "National Democratic Youth and Student Federation" Case (which included defendants of the so-called "People's Revolutionary Party" Case.)

We, the families of the accused, can no longer contain our anger at the way those in authority have persistently and publicly called those who are detained in connection with the NDYSF Case "subversives" or "criminals."

1. Even if we concede that these people, who believe in democracy, broke the law, we believe that their human rights should be guaranteed. Even those who break the law have a right not to be tortured, not to be detained for unduly long periods, not to be punished except as decided by open court procedure, and to be tried by judges on the sole basis of the evidence, including evidence of defense witnesses. But in despite of this, those accused in connection with the NDYSF were forced to confess under cruel tortures, and were held in detention without warrants. At their trial by Emergency Court-Martial, they were prevented from making statements, denied the testimony of defense witnesses, who were forced to leave the courtroom, and tried in closed session. Under procedures such as these, they received cruelly heavy sentences, including death penalties, and life imprisonment. Furthermore, the court records, which are supposed to be accurate, cannot be relied upon. This is an invasion of human rights and human dignity, which are guaranteed by the Constitution in democratic countries, and by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. That those whose guilt or innocence should be decided solely by the court should be labelled criminals beforehand is utterly without justification. The government authorities are putting forward the groundless claim that they received a fair trial. We would question whether the trial was quite so flawless.

2. We strongly protest and condemn the fact that, in addition to the press statement made by the President to the effect that these democratic people are "subversives" and "criminals," their case was politically exploited by KBS-TV news programs* and on public propaganda boards. It is a basic principle of criminal procedure that the defendant is considered innocent until proven guilty. A considerable number of detainees connected with the NDYSF for whom final sentence has not yet been passed, and who should therefore still be regarded as innocent, are declared "criminals" and "subversives manipulated by North Korea," by those in power, by TV, newsreels, pamphlets and public noticeboards. By making propaganda out of these people in this way, the authorities are interfering in the process of justice and their unworthy objective is to impair fair judgement by an independent judiciary. We affirm that this is a criminal activity, namely defamation through the spreading of false rumors. We demand an immediate end to these activities of defamation through KBS-TV and public-notice boards, and demand withdrawal of remarks about "subversives" and "criminals" and so on. If they do not stop forthwith, we, the families, are determined to take action, with every measure available within the law.

3. How can anyone expect there to be a fair trial according to law and conscience when the judge himself is appointed by the President and is conscious of the fact that the President and his entourage are watching his every move? And when President and government officials alike defy the law and interfere with justice by calling the defendants "criminals?" Now that our last expectation is destroyed that the Supreme Court can pass independent judgement according to their conscience, we wish to make it clear that we will not accept the final judgement or any sentence of guilt passed by the Supreme Court on the NDYSF people, because there cannot be a fair judgement when the court itself is manipulated by political powers.

4. While our husbands and sons are serving heavy prison terms, they are still dear to their own families. There are some families who are not allowed to meet their relatives in prison, even at the start of the New Year. And as there are some prisoners who have been dispersed throughout the country, they are now in effect "dispersed families."** We protest to the authorities about this, and demand that this situation be rectified without delay.

5. Once again, we demand the restoration of human rights and the release of all these democratic people detained in prison. We appeal to everyone to support our campaign against this invasion of human rights.

TRANSLATOR'S NOTES:

- * KBS is the government-owned radio and TV company, which presents the government version of "news."
- ** "Dispersed families" in Korea refers to families who are split by the 38th Parallel, some members living in the North, some in the South.



One of the "public propaganda boards" referred to in paragraph 2, above, was probably the one in front of Tuksu Palace. The above photo was taken in late January.

The Wives Speak



Lasting about three-and-a-half hours, the following interview, conducted by a member of the Japanese Section of Amnesty International, was held at the office of the Human Rights Committee of the Korean National Council of Churches, in the Christian Center Building in downtown Seoul, on January 28, 1975. Present were the wives of four men who are alleged to be members of the "People's Revolutionary Party" and whose cases were, at the time of the interview, on appeal with the Supreme Court.

It was not then known when their husbands' cases would be scheduled for hearing by the Court; they could have been held that week, the next month - or left unprocessed indefinitely while the government sized up the domestic climate and, more important to its own concerns, international opinion. All that was known was that the defendants' lawyers would be given notice only the day before they were to appear in Court. Although it is Korean custom to address a married woman by her own name, here Western readers will be spared some confusion by use of the husbands' names only - with apologies to the women.

The four women present were the wives of: Chon Chang-il, Yu Chin-kwon, Kim Yong-wun, and Woo Hong-sun (note that their names may occur in other reports with somewhat varying romanizations.) Having finished the military courts (appellate level) Chon and Yu had been sentenced to life imprisonment, and Kim and Woo to death. All that stood between them and such terrible fates was the Supreme Court Trial, which could come at any time.

1. Present were the wives of (left to right): Chon Chang-il, Yu Chin-kwon, Kim Yong-wun, and Woo Hong-sun.

2. Kim was the first taken in, on April 18, 1974; Woo on May 2, Chon on May 1, and Yu on May 14. The first people in the whole case to be taken in by the KCIA were Kim Yong-wun and Lee Soo-byong.

3. I asked Mrs. Kim what kind of arrest warrant or other official document was presented at time of arrest- She didn't know that there had been any. He, a teacher, had gone off to school that morning. At about 3:00 in the afternoon, the police came to her house and started asking her a lot of questions about his background and personal history: family, where he went to school, dates of graduation, army service, etc. Since she herself was not too sure as to the correct answers to some of their questions, she telephoned the school in order to seek the answers. It was then that she learned that they had come to take him away. From that time on she asked around in an effort to find out what had

become of him. Where did she ask? She went to the local police, but they did not know. Was he involved in the 1964 case? He was taken in and held for three or four days. They found nothing on him; so he was released without further incident. In 1964 he had had some relation to one or two of the other people involved, before his getting married. One of them was a man named Pak Choong-hee, who was not arrested in the 1974 case. None of the women knew what had become of this man or what he was doing now. In the present case, Kim knew only four of the others indicted in the case. Kim's wife has heard their names from him, so she assumes that he knew them. Two of them were related to him in business. Another was a former classmate.

To Mrs. Kim: was there any official notification from the authorities concerning the arrest of her husband? No, she heard nothing, official or otherwise, until the government released its first announcement of the case in the newspaper on April 25th. Names of those who the government alleged were members of the PRP conspiracy were published and her husband's name was among them.

4. As announced by the government, the PRP conspiracy had as its key members the following people:

- Kim Yong won. Inexplicably not listed in the Ogle Fact Sheet, though he was sentenced to death. Accused of being one of the two ring-leaders sentenced to death.
- Lee Soo-byong. Accused of being the other of the two ring-leaders. Death. Ogle Profile: "No connection with the events of 1964, but was arrested in 1961 in connection with the National Student Movement for Unification. Released in 1967.
- Yo Chong-nam, student who was alleged to have been the link between the PRP and the Federation of Democratic Youths and Students. In Taegu, Yo had worked as a tutor for the children of Ha Chae Won. He asked Ha to help him in finding a job in Seoul, as he wanted to go there to live. Ha introduced Yo to his Taegu friend and neighbor, So Do Won, who, in turn, introduced him to Lee Soo-byong, accused of being one of the ring-leaders of the PRP. Later, the govt alleges, Yo came to know two of the students of the NFDYS, Lee Chul and Yoo In-tae, and after that Yo was to serve as the funding link between the PRP and the NFDYS via these two students -- according to the govt.

5. The wife of Yu Chin-kwun said that the govt was using the fact that Yu lent money to ring-leader Kim Yong-won as the basis for documenting his culpability in the conspiracy. The govt claims that the Won 190,000 which was loaned was intended for anti-govt activities and went from Yu to Kim to Yo to the NFDYS students. However, Yu's wife said that the defense lawyer has introduced to the courts documentary evidence that accounts for nearly all of the money. Receipts for hospital bills (dental work for Yu, and house repairs -- the latter totaling nearly Won 100,000.) As to whether Yu was involved in any sort of anti-govt activity, his wife says that there is no way to know because since his arrest he is inaccessible and she cannot talk to him; but, she says, what can be refuted directly with hard evidence is the govt attempt to prove such links by introducing the fact of the loan. If evidence like this is proven to be false, and proven with hard evidence, then doesn't it make the whole case against him look strange?

6. Notification of arrest given families? All the wives said that in every case the first that they knew was that simply their husbands had disappeared. In some cases it happened at home, so they knew that husband was taken in by one agency or another. When he didn't return, it meant a serious matter. They first realized the true seriousness of the case when it broke in the newspaper. Woo Hong-sun's wife: On May 1st husband had gone off to work, and she had gone back to sleep. A man came to the house in the late morning, wanted to have a look around. Found nothing. When he was about to leave, he saw the new radio which was on the table near the door. He took it with him, saying that it was evidence.

Later, in court, the CIA prosecutor produced evidence as to where and when they bought it, and how much they paid for it. According to the evidence introduced by the prosecutor in the trial, the radio was purchased on the 27th April. As the defense lawyer said in the trial: If it is true, as the prosecution alleges, that Woo was one of the core members of this PRP conspiracy, then why would he be buying a radio set (with which to monitor coded north Korean broadcasts) nine days after the arrest of Kim Yong-won and Lee Soo-byong? And two days after the case broke in the newspapers. If the govt accusations were true, why wasn't he destroying the "evidence" and fleeing for his life?

7. Woo's wife said that in court her husband told of being tortured, electrodes being attached to different parts of his body, water forced into his nose and mouth, etc. He said that after a while he took all he could stand and was going to commit suicide by jumping out of a third-story window, but was stopped in time. He said the electrodes attached to his chest were the worst; each time they switched on the current he felt like his heart would burst out of his chest. He claimed in court that the contents of the prosecution-extracted "confession" were not true and that his signature to it had been taken by force. They held his hand and applied his thumbprint as signature. He said in court: "Even if it means that I must die, I will swear to the end that this PRP business is a fabrication."

8. The wife of Woo Hong-sun was herself hauled in by the KCIA on the 13th of January. Overnight. No sleep for the other wives, but she was so exhausted that she was able to sleep some. Two days before, on the 11th, they had come for her, but she had refused to go, so they went away. They came again on the 13th, and took her away forcibly. That time there were four of them. They demanded that she sign a statement to the effect that her husband was a communist and was guilty of participating in the PRP conspiracy. She refused to sign, saying that the PRP was nothing more than a fabrication, that her husband was not a red and had no connection with the people being accused or the students. In the end she signed two pledges: (1) to not demonstrate or agitate against the government about this case, and (2) to not read any more public statements (on the 9th January she had read her "Protest" at the Myongdong Cathedral in Seoul) and to refrain from taking her case to the press. How many of the other wives does she know? In the beginning she knew only one, but now ten or so. How did she meet them? In the court sessions made contact, thereafter maintained.

9. Trial procedures. Woo's wife said that the trials were held such that the defendants were divided into two groups. She did not know why, but she thought that it was probably in order to ease the court load. On one particular day, for example, eight might be tried. Though all eight be tried on a single day, they were brought into court individually, so that one defendant could not hear the trial proceedings of another. How did the families know when the trials were to be held? The lawyers, who were notified on the day prior to the trial by the prosecution or military judge, would notify them. How were the lawyers first assigned to the cases? The families secured them on their own. Did some organization introduce any of the lawyers? No. Each of the twenty-two defendants has own lawyer. Standard legal fees are about Won 300,000, same for each of them. Payment of legal fees is a real problem.

10. Kim's wife said that around 4:30 or 5:00 in the afternoon they came for her on the 11th January. They went to the houses of all the wives on that day. Does "all of the wives" mean wives of the twenty-two? At least the wives of those ten or so wives that have been active in meeting with church groups, news-people from the domestic and foreign press, etc. In the case of Kim's wife, they said that they were from the Dong-a Ilbo when they came for her. Two of them. When she got suspicious and started asking them questions, they then admitted to being from the KCIA. I have a family, why do you persecute us so? Bring a warrant. She protested that she had an 80-year-old mother to take care of and she was needed at home to cook dinner. When she said that it would take

an hour to prepare dinner, they said that they would wait. There were two of them who came into the house, and a third appeared when they left the house, maybe driver of the car. Not forced. They took her to the interrogation center at Namsan. She was kept in a room separate from the others (the other women added that it was true for each of them, all kept separate from each other.) They demanded that she sign statement saying that her husband was a communist. She refused. No sleep the first night. On the second day they started slapping her and beating her around the neck, chest and breasts. Tried to get her to apply her thumbprint (as signature). She got no sleep for three days. They then told her that husband was working for violent overthrow of govt, as such was a spy. He will die for it, as will she if she doesn't sign. She thought of her children, what would become of them? So she signed.

11. Wife of Chon Chang-il. Taken in from the 11th to the 14th January. She gave in and signed similar statement on the last day. She got no sleep the first night. From the morning of the 12th to the morning of the 14th, she was forced to keep writing depositions giving the true facts (they always asked for the "true facts") of her husband's involvement. Every time she would finish one they would tear it up saying that it was not good enough, or that it was lies. One of the statements she opposed signing was: "In coming here I have learned that the PRP is not a government fabrication." They told her that if she did not sign, then she would die too, just like her husband. During this session she mentioned the fact that the judge in the 1964 case had resigned because he knew the case to be a government fabrication. They: do you know that that is the reason he resigned? She: Let's go ask him! Her persecutor got angry and stalked out of the room, to be relieved by another man (the other women all said that this was standard procedure, the interrogators being often changed; each interrogator differed in style and approach, some kind and coaxing, others mean and threatening.)

12. Wife of Yu Chin-kwun. The official transcript is being doctored by the courts so that reading it makes the husbands look guilty. Woo's wife said that she took copious notes of most of her husband's trial, and later when she read the official transcript was amazed to find that they had completely changed some of his answers, deleted other parts. (It was then explained to me by the interpreter that this was an extremely important matter, because when the men appeal to the Supreme Court, there is no hearing of new evidence, cross-examination of witnesses or of the defendants themselves. The defendant may not even be present. The Supreme Court merely reviews the proceedings of the military court trials — in this case the official records of those proceedings being fraudulent — and decides whether or not to let the military court judgement stand as is. It either passes it, or sends the case back to the military courts for further hearings.) It was Lee Soo-byong's lawyer (who is also handling Kim's case) who will take the matter of this fraudulent doctoring of transcripts up in appeals hearing before the Supreme Court.

13. Torture evidence. Wife of Woo Hong-sun said that husband's defense lawyer met with her husband only twice from arrest to the present. On one of those occasions the lawyer brought out a book, in the pages of which was inserted a slip of paper, a certificate of health signed by a physician. She produced a photostat copy of it: the doctor had written that it was "ok for subject to recline (he cannot use his legs)." It was dated May 6th, four days after his arrest. If he was in good health when he was arrested, what, if not torture, would produce a physical condition calling for a certificate of this kind? (She then went into an emotional tirade about the KCIA, what brutes they were, etc....)

14. Trial schedule. Lawyers are never advised that their clients are to be brought before the court more than one day in advance. The lower military tribunals were conducted in mid-July. The upper court trial, also military, began

on August 7 and 8th. Three or four sessions. All sessions completed end of August. Military trials allow no press or other monitors. Only one member of family allowed to attend. Cases which are appealed go to the Supreme Court, civilian. First Supreme Court hearings began today. Wives believe that no PRP people being tried in today's session.

15. Forced signatures. Wife of Chon Chang-il says that the fact that the wives were forced to sign statements implicating husbands and attesting to their guilt means that the government knows that they are innocent and lack evidence to show that they are guilty. Having no evidence, the govt needs all the "confessions" it can get in order to convince the outside world of guilt. Wife of Yu Chin-kwan said that her husband was tortured before the trial in hopes of getting him to admit in court the truth of what he had already signed. And Ha Chae-won was severely tortured, deaf in one ear and other terrible damage to his physical condition. But he was still stubborn in court and complained to the judge that the "confession" was gotten out of him by torture and so he refused to admit the validity of the confession. The prosecutor jumped to his feet and shouted that if he continued to talk like that, maybe what he needed was still more torture — he hadn't had enough!

16. Detention. All of the accused are being held in Sodaemoon, from time of arrest until the present. Solitary confinement until sentenced at the conclusion of the first trial, after which they were put together along with other common criminals. Now they are allowed two minutes of exercise per day. Seven men in a cell, very small, caged like animals, living like pigs. Pigs being kept before slaughter (wife of Chon Chang-il now getting very excited, upset.) For food all that they get is a bowl of barley mixed with beans. Carbohydrates, no vegetables. Their health is probably getting much worse, bad food on top of the violent beatings. What is the source of this information? Via lawyers, who got it from some students who were released from prison earlier. Were these students in same cell with husbands? Not sure, but anyway same prison (Sodaemoon), where conditions are probably the same for everyone. In Korea things are backwards: the people who are the real criminals are running the country and the common people, students and patriots are in prison. Loving one's own country and people is now a crime here, no hope.

17. Wife of Woo Hong-sun: Please tell people abroad the truth about our husbands as we are desperate and don't know who to turn to. Please emphasize:
--our husbands were tortured and the confessions were only signed after our husbands could stand no more torture;
--the court records are being altered so that even if outsiders manage to read the official transcripts, they will get a very different picture from the truth;
--the depositions by us, the wives, were also forced from us. We have signed statements to the effect that we believe our own husbands to have been part of the PRP conspiracy, but in fact we know nothing about such a thing as the PRP and believe that the whole thing is a fraud of the government from start to finish — otherwise why does the government take all this trouble to torture and persecute us, to make us sign things which we know to be lies?

"Results of An Investigation of the PRP"

*Translation of a document issued at a press conference
held at Myong Dong Cathedral in Seoul, February 24, '75.*

We should seriously consider the two opinions regarding the People's Revolutionary Party (PRP), and which of them is true. The public opinion that the case of the PRP is a complete fabrication, and the government's denial of this. The authorities have been very reluctant to make known their evidence and their facts. It is a matter open to speculation as to why the authorities have not responded to the appeal for an open trial which was signed by 15 persons, including Cardinal Kim Su Hwan, Mr. Ham Sok Hon, (Rev.) Kim Kwan Suk, (Rev.) Han Kyung Jik, (Rev.) Kang Shin Myung, Lawyer Lee Tae Young, and Lawyer Lee Byung Rin.

We think that the responsible investigators and the investigation organization are fully acquainted with the facts- and how they have been fabricated. The defendants are acquainted with the facts, however interviews with them have been strictly prohibited, and even their families have not been permitted to speak with them since their arrest.

We can now understand that the President and high level government officials do not know the facts of this case, and are thus judging one-sidedly, depending upon reports of lower officials.

We clerics now judge that there is sufficient evidence to begin an investigation of the facts. Furthermore, if the announcement of the government is true, why don't they make their evidence public? Details of their evidence should be made known through an open trial.

We could hardly believe the indescribable torture suffered by the PRP persons, which was so barbaric, miserable, and inhumane that we could not believe our ears.

We urge the authorities as follows, hoping that they will make public the true facts:

[1] We recommend that they form an investigation team composed of related organizations, clerics, and well known, respected persons. This team would investigate the facts of the cases of the National League of Democratic Youths and Students (NLDYS), and the PRP; and the reports of torture. However, there should not be any political revenge against those who support an investigation of the cases.

[2] Free interviews with the defendants should be allowed in order to prove the true facts. We cannot understand why the authorities have restricted interviews with the defendants, a procedure which is supposedly guaranteed under the law. We demand that the authorities promise not to discriminate against the PRP persons.

[3] We protest the acts which in our opinion show that the authorities are not allowing the trial records to be seen, despite the fact that the law permits this. It is our opinion that the reason for this is because the authorities want to hide the fact that they have altered the trial records, as is claimed by the families.

[4] We again demand an open trial. If the authorities are convinced that the arrested persons related to the PRP attempted to overthrow the government on orders from Kim Il-sung, they should present their facts. There is no reason for the authorities to be reluctant in making this evidence public.

[5] We appeal to related organizations and the people in general to be warm to the defendants and their families until the facts are fully disclosed; or the false and groundless charges are made known. We protest the authorities'

violation of their legislative rights by biasedly presenting the case. Despite this, the court should come to an independent decision keeping in mind the fact that the authorities have hurt the honour of the defendants and their families.

[6] The released persons should be the first to prove the true facts, because we believe that they know the facts related to the PRP case. Our desire to prove the facts should not be judged by the authorities as a rash and thoughtless act. We have given the matter full consideration and they cannot make us repent or change our minds.

[7] We hope that the public and all related persons will lend their positive support in order to prove the facts, so that the facts will be made public sooner, and it can be known who was wrong.

February 24th, 1975.

CATHOLIC PRIESTS FOR THE REALIZATION OF JUSTICE
THE SUPPORT COMMITTEE OF THE FAMILIES OF THE ARRESTED

THE FACTS REGARDING THE PRP

I The Purpose of the Investigation

The basic rights of the people should be respected, not only politically but also by conscience. Political power exists to protect and guarantee the basic rights of the people. Politics should not suppress human rights, fabricate information in order to maintain itself, or victimize precious human lives by false accusations. The use of torture to force the defendants to make false statements and thus to fabricate the cases, and to make the families of the arrested despised by the people, are both acts which are in opposition to the will of God. We have demanded an open trial for the defendants, but the authorities, disregarding the due process of law, held secret trials in which they prosecuted one day and sentenced the next. They have done this without any hesitation, so as to gloss over the dilemma. However, the truth and conscience of us Christians cannot forgive this. We cannot ignore the fact that human rights and human life are given by God and that no political power can violate or rob us of these by force.

II Method of Fact Investigation

The authorities have restricted the investigation of the facts with regards to the NLDYS and the PRP, in order to hide their own evilness. The authorities have also threatened interested persons. The deportation of George Ogle was an example of this. Furthermore, even making mention of the case makes one liable for punishment.

For these reasons, the available means for investigating the facts is very limited. Depending upon the explanation of the families, and the declarations of conscience made by various people, we made this report. However, we hope that we can overcome this situation in which no one wants his name to appear because of possible repercussions, or political revenge; and we hope that soon the facts of the cases will be made public.

III Did the PRP Really Exist?

[A] The PRP Case of 1964

In 1964, the case of the PRP was the object of an investigation similar to the present one. At that time the PRP was accused of being the communist influence behind the June Third Movement. The purpose of this Movement was to break down the Japan-Korea talks, which were then at their climax. Regarding the 1964 PRP case, page 705 of the book, Twenty Years After Liberation, states:

The Case of the PRP — Disobedience of Public Prosecutor's Orders

"On August 14th, 1964, the CIA announced that it had arrested 41 people, including Mr. To Rye Chong, on charges of violating the National Security Law. They were also charged with conspiring to overthrow the government. In their announcement, the CIA made public the process of the investigation, and stated that the PRP was composed of revolutionaries, pressmen, professors and students. They also stated that it was an anti-state organization which was controlled by the north Korean communists. It was also said that they were ordered to conspire to overthrow the government, and to expand the party's membership, bringing together people from various social backgrounds and fields, but they were discovered and arrested. This announcement was a great shock to everyone. Upon completion of the preliminary investigation, the suspected people were remanded to the Seoul Prosecutor's Office, and were interrogated by the prosecutor responsible for public safety. However, the responsible prosecutors (Mr. Lee Yong Hon, Chief Prosecutor, Mr. Kim Byung Rhee, Mr. Chang Won Chan, and Mr. Choi Dae Hyun) decided to drop the case. After twenty days of investigation they arrived at the opinion that the charges were groundless. Despite this, higher officials in the Public Prosecutor's Office ignored the prosecutors' claims and ordered that they proceed with the prosecution, saying that there was enough evidence. However, the concerned prosecutors responsible for public safety opposed this order, and refused to sign the indictment because they could not convict innocent men. Then Mr. Suh Yoo Yun, Chief of the Seoul City Prosecutor's Office, ordered Mr. Chung Myung Rae to remain on duty on the night of September 5th [1964], the last day of detainment, in order to prosecute 26 people, including Mr. To Rye Chong, on charges of violating the National Security Law.

"The result of this was a serious confrontation in the Prosecutor's Office. After a dispute between the higher officials in the Prosecutor's Office and the public security officers on the value of prosecuting the PRP case, the public security prosecutors, Mr. Kim Byung Rhee, Mr. Chang Won Chan, and Mr. Lee Yong Hon, all tendered their resignations. The resignations of the three prosecutors developed into a political problem which became an issue in the National Assembly. The Assembly called in the Minister of Justice, Mr. Min, and asked him to explain the true facts regarding the case. In his speech, Mr. Min said: 'The PRP is an illegal organization founded on the orders of the Labor Party of communist North Korea, and it controlled the student demonstrations from March 24th to June 3rd, and conspired to overthrow the government. The prosecutors have continually disobeyed the orders of their superiors in dealing with this case.' As a result of this speech, there were more critical confrontations between high and low level prosecutors, while the people related to the PRP case were tortured. The Prosecutor's Office, which was embarrassed by the resignation of the three prosecutors, and the public's reaction to the torture suffered by the men while in the hands of the CIA, again began to investigate the case. This time Mr. Han Ok Kap of the Seoul Higher Prosecutor's Office was the official in charge. Following his investigation, Mr. Han announced that he had found no evidence which suggested that the defendants had had contact with spies sent by north Korea; but they were, he said, suspected of praising and supporting north Korean activities because they held the same principles regarding peaceful reunification. Mr. Han continued that he had withdrawn the legal case against 14 people, including the students; and had changed the charges against twelve others from violation of the National Security Law to violation of Article 4, Section 1 of the Anti-Communist Law. Following this report the higher Prosecutor's Office refused to accept the resignations of the public security prosecutors.

"Mr. Han, who was also responsible for investigating the torture suffered by the defendants in the CIA, said that: 'There were many difficulties in this investigation, because the defendants were unable to remember the positions and

faces of their tormentors. However, it is obvious that the defendants had suffered torture."

Aside from the above report, we wish to add the following list of reports from the Kyunghyang Daily.

- (i) September 7th, 1964: "Opinion of Prosecutor in Charge Ignored" (page 3) "PRP Case Becomes Political Problem — Is It a Fabrication?" (page 1).
- (ii) September 10th, 1964: "All Public Security Prosecutors Concur: Discuss Acceptance of Minister Min's Speech" (page 3).
- (iii) September 12th, 1964: "PRP Defendants Stripped and Tortured" (page 3); "Skin Peels As a Result of Water and Electric Torture" and "Three Able Prosecutors Tender Resignations" (page 3).
- (iv) October 17th, 1964: "Thirteen People Released Following Dropping of Charges"
- (v) October 20th, 1964: "Prosecutor's Office Ignores CIA Report and Begins Torture of PRP-Related People"

[B] The PRP Case of 1974

Despite the fact that no mention was made of Mr. Kim Il-sung's orders in the process of the trial and the indictment, the announcement of the Minister of Defense blew the story out of proportion. The facts of the PRP case in 1974 are as follows:

(i) According to the CIA's announcements of April 25th and May 27th [1974], Mr. To Rye Chong, Mr. Ha Jae Won, and Mr. Suh Do Won persuaded Mr. Yoh Jung Nam, a graduate of Kyungbuk University, to work with them to overthrow the government. However, as was made evident during the trial, around July of 1969, Mr. Yoh stayed in Mr. Ha Jae Won's house as a tutor, but they did not meet for the purpose indicated in the indictment.

(ii) The announcement of April 25th, stated that Mr. To, Mr. Ha, Mr. Suh, Mr. Lee Soo Byung, Mr. Kim Yong Won, and Mr. Yuh Jung Nan had been arrested. Mr. Song Sang Jin was arrested May 2nd; Mr. Kim Jong Dae, and Mr. Whang Hyun Seung were arrested May 7th; Mr. Oo Hong Sun was arrested May 2nd, along with Mr. Chun Chang Il, Mr. Lee Chung Bok, and Mr. Kim Han Duk; Mr. Na Kyung Il was arrested May 8th, as was Mr. Kang Chung Duk. Mr. Chun Chae Kwon, Mr. Lee Tae Whan, Mr. Cho Man Ho, Mr. Chung Man Jin, Mr. Lee Jae Hyung, and Mr. Im Ku Ho were also arrested May 2nd. If these persons arrested May 2nd through 8th were guilty, why did they not attempt to escape following the April 25th announcement? We cannot figure out what the authorities base their facts on.

(iii) In the indictment and the appeal of Mr. Ha and Mr. To, They said that the CIA had created a diagram of the organization, and had added to it during the torture sessions.

(iv) In the case of Mr. To Rye Chong, the prosecutor's investigation was carried out in Room 311 of the 6th Section of the CIA. Mr. To was tortured by the agents, who also threatened him if he did not say the right things. Such methods were also used with defendant Ha Jae Won.
(Appeals of Mr. To and Mr. Ha)

(v) Despite the fact that there had been no mention of the PRP or it's reestablishment, the authorities again fabricated it's existence, as they had done 10 years before, and made it appear that totally unrelated persons were members of it.

(vi) The spies Mr. Kim Sang Han, and Mr. Kim Bae Yong, who said that they had had contact with the PRP, were known by Kim Jong

Kil's lawyer. In a statement the lawyer said:

"I have been acquainted with Mr. Kim Sang Ham, who it is said was sent by the defendant Mr. Oo Hong Son. The defendant Mr. Oo did not send him. He was sent by the CIA of the US Military. Neither was Mr. Kim Bae Yong sent by Mr. Oo. Mr. Kim Bae Yong had no place to go to, so he stayed with his brother, who is a shoemaker in Japan. After leaving there, he again had no place to live, so he went to north Korea. He was definitely not a communist when he was in Korea or Japan. Later, however, he professed to be a communist, and was arrested and punished. I was responsible for this case, and I want to make it clear that neither Mr. Kim Sang Ham nor Mr. Kim Bae Yong had any relationship with defendant Oo."

(C) The Appeal of Mr. To Rye Jong

"I am not acquainted with the man Mr. Kim Sang Ham, and I have never met him. I heard nothing about him from Mr. Oo. With regards to Mr. Kim Bae Yong, there is no reason to discuss this matter again as following the CIA's investigation in November of 1967, I was cleared and released because I was not guilty."

(D) Purpose of the Fabrication

Here we quote a portion of the statement which was issued by the Association of the Families of the Arrested, and which was read by Mrs. Kong Duk Kui (wife of Yun Po Sun)

"It is truly a sly political trick on the part of the government to victimize some persons as if they were Communist; and this, despite the fact that the authorities had lost any reason to arrest the patriotic persons because they had already declared publically that they were not guilty back in 1964. However, the authorities wanted to get out of the trouble which had been created by the nation-wide movement to recover democracy, a movement which spread like a hurricane.

"We know that the PRP case of 1964 was a political fabrication. The fact that the responsible prosecutors refused to prosecute, and in fact offered their resignations, further reminds us that the authorities fabricated the so-called PRP case in order to escape their political difficulties, that is, the people's movement to oppose the Korea - Japan talks."

IV THE PROCESS OF THE INVESTIGATION, AND TORTURE

(A) To Rye Jong: He was investigated in the CIA Headquarters for 50 days, from April 20th until June 8th, 1974. On four or five occasions he was tortured; and from April 20th - 25th he was not permitted to sleep while they continually questioned him in Room 311 of Section 6 of the CIA.

On one occasion while being tortured, Mr. To suffered a heart attack and lost consciousness. The CIA then administered sulfa, and nitro-glycerine in order to revive him (nitro-glycerine has to be imported). Even now in the prison nitro-glycerine must be kept on hand.

Whenever Mr. To stated something that was different from what was written in the CIA's indictment, he was returned to the CIA for further torture. (Appeal of To Rye Jong)

(B) Ha Jae Won: "I was forced to give the names of twenty person whom I knew, and then I was forced to put my thumb print to a statement

which was written by the CIA, and which I did not even have the opportunity to read. The authorities arrested the twenty persons, who were not guilty, and sentenced them to from 15 - 20 years in prison. I am crazy and cannot sleep." (Statement of Ha Jae Won in Court)

"After the first session with the prosecutor on May 27th in CIA Headquarters, I had to write down what was dictated to me by the agent. This statement was derived through torture and threats from May 29th to June 8th. It was under these conditions that the statement was written. The 32 items which appeared in the indictment of June 9th were taken from this statement.

"On April 28th I suffered a hernia as the result of torture, I also suffered a collapse of the anus, and a abscess of the lungs for the same reason, but they continued the investigation." (Appeal of Ha Jae Won)

The defendant Ha Jae Won recognizes only six of the thirty-two items listed in the indictment. They are numbers 10,11,12,13,15, and 19. (Appeal of Lawyer Cho Sung Ku)

(C) Suh Do Won: "I was tortured, and the scar which resulted still remains in my leg." (Statement in Court)

"I met Mr. Yuh Jong Nam at Mr. Ha Jae Won's house, but we never spoke of things which we are accused of in the indictment. Around December of 1973, Mr. Ha Jae Won asked me to introduce Mr. Yuh to the Japanese language institute. I also promised to introduce Mr. Sam Rak to this same institute. I then met Mr. Lee Su Byung at the Pine Tree Tea Room in Chungjin-Dong, and asked him to teach Japanese to Mr. Yuh, but I did not say anything like what I am accused of saying. On April 5th, 1974, I met Mr. Ha Jae Won at my house, and I promised at meet with Mr. Yuh in Seoul on the 15th. When we met Mr. Yuh did not say anything related to the current state of affairs.

"On April 13th, 1974, I met with Mr. Yuh in Taegu and gave him the phone number of Mr. Ha Jae Won, and on April 15th I met Mr. Lee Soo Byung at the Hee Tea Room in Seoul, but the three of us did not meet in the same place." (Appeal of Ha Jae Won)

(D) Oo Hong Sun: On May 2nd, following the announcement about the NLDYS, he was arrested in his office by the CIA. Immediately an agent went to his home looking for evidence, but he found nothing. This man telephoned his superiors, and said: "I have found that he only graduated from agricultural school, and that he has very few books." Just as the agent was about to leave the house, he found a radio which was tuned to an FM station. The agent confiscated this as evidence. (The Oo Family)

"It is true that I met Mr. Lee Soo Byung and Mr. Chun Chang Il, but we did not plot to overthrow the government, and I never listened to broadcasts from north Korea. At first I was able to endure the torture, and I said to them: 'You have considered me to be a dangerous person and so have watched me as if you were looking into a glass fish bowl. Why do you now ask me what I did?' A few days later an agent came into the room with an outline of a statement. He tortured me until I expressed agreement with it's contents. I then wanted to commit suicide by jumping from the third floor room which I was then in. During this time the investigator was drunk." (Oo Hong Su's Statement in Court)

(E) Chun Chang Il: During the investigation five or six prosecutors took turns questioning him. He was not permitted to sleep, and electric torture was administered. This caused Mr. Chun to partially loose consciousness. Mr. Chun says that after he was

transferred from the CIA Headquarters to the Prosecutor's Office, he still claimed that he was innocent, so he was again tortured- this time in the basement of the Seoul Prosecutor's Office Building. Mr. Ha Jae Won claimed in his statement that he saw the defendant (Mr. Chun) and that the defendant had suffered electric torture.
(Ha Jae Won's Statement in Court)

The so-called "Leader's Group", supposedly composed of four members, is a term created by the CIA. Who can believe that they would meet in a tea room to discuss plans for the overthrow of the government?
(Chun Chang Il's Statement in Court)

(F) Chung Man Jin: When he was investigated by the prosecutor, he was asked to give the names of places which he used to frequent. he replied that one place he often visited was a real estate agency. The prosecutor then asked Mr. Chung to give the names of persons whom he had met there. Mr. Chung gave the names of three persons, including Mr. Na Jin Oh. A few days later, the prosecutor requested that Mr. Chung put his thumb print to a statement which had been drawn-up by the prosecutor.

Mr. Na Jin Oh and the two others named by Mr. Chung, were arrested and were tortured until they agreed that it was true that Mr. Chung had criticized the Presidential Emergency Measures.
(Chung Man Jin's Statement in Court)

(G) Whang Hyun Seung: His statement has never been seen.
(His Family)

(H) Im Ku Ho: "During the investigation in the prosecutor's office, the prosecutor said to me: 'We know that you are not a communist.' However, in court I recognized that the prosecutor had given me a 'present', the lable of 'communist', but I want to return this 'gift' to the prosecutor."
(Im Ku Ho's Statement in Court)

(I) Song Sang Jin: On April 28th he was forced to write down his hopes for the future. At the same time he was also supposed to confess that he was a communist. Later the investigators dictated a statement to Mr. Song, and Mr. Song then had to put his thumb print to it. This was accomplished through torture, threats and other unpleasant means. They also asked Mr. Song to write that the statement was written in the Detention House, where as in actual fact it was written in the basement of the CIA Building.
(Appeal of Song Sang Jin)

During the appeal trials, cross-examination was only permitted when confirming the identity of the defendants.

During the trials of Mr. Song Sang Jin, and Mr. Ha Jae Won, both men stated that they had heard and written down the report of the central committee, which was reported at the 5th Assembly Meeting of the Labour Party of North Korea.
(Appeals of Ha Jae Won and Song Sang Jin)

V THE TRIALS

(A) In court, the prosecutor, Mr. Moon Ho Chul, threatened the defendants and told them only to answer his questions. Close cross-examination by the defendant's lawyers, and remarks for the purpose of self-defense, were not freely permitted.

(B) Im Ku Ho: "I will use this court as a place of learning; but I will absolutely not yield, even if it means my death." As soon

as the trial was over, Mr. Im was put into a black jeep and taken away.

Even during the trial there was an atmosphere of dread and depression.

(C) .. To prove the non-existence of the PRP, Mr. To Rye Jong suggested that the authorities refer to the 1964 indictments and the judgment of the 1st and 2nd prosecutors. This suggestion, however, was not accepted.

(D) The book, The Teachings of the Russian Revolution (author Ha Ki Rik) which was confiscated from To Rye Jong's house, had been given as a present to Mr. To by Mr. Ha Ki Rik, a philosophy professor.

(E) The defendants suggested that Mr. Yoh Jong Nam and Mr. Lee Chul be called as witnesses to discuss the relationship between the PRP and the NLDYS; but this was also not acceptable to the authorities.

(F) Mr. Yuh Jin Kon did not give money to Mr. Kim Yong Wo, he lent it to him. The money was not lent for the purpose of supporting demonstrations.

It was suggested that the diary of the Daesan Timber Company (managed by Mr. Yuh) be used as evidence, and that the foreman and the treasurer of the company be called as witnesses. These requests were denied, and diary and the account book were both confiscated from the factory office by a CIA agent.

(G) Other books suggested by the prosecutor as evidence, are sold in local book stores, and are therefore worthless.

VI FINAL STATEMENTS OF THE DEFENDENTS, AND LAWYERS DEFENSE

(A) Final Statements

(i) To Rye Jong: "I do not know why it is or how it is that I am standing here."

(ii) Ha Jae Won: "It is a pity that the extreme 'loyalty' of the CIA has resulted in me being accused of being a communist."

(iii) Suh Do Won: "Throughout the trial we have observed that only the reports of high ranking persons were accepted as evidence. (NB Usually such reports are prepared by junior officials and passed on to their superiors.)"

(iv) Lee Soo Byung: "I can neither understand nor accept this punishment."

(v) Oo Hong Sun: "When I was taken to be investigated by the CIA, the car in which I was riding violated numerous traffic regulations. I now feel as if I've been hit by that same car."

(vi) Chun Chang Il: "I have not the ability to become the ruler of a country, even if it is given to me. It is irrational to think that I would conspire to overthrow the government, and so victimize myself and my family."

(vii) Yuh Jin Kon: "I have endeavored to help attain the government's export target. As a young entrepreneur, the government should not hinder me."

(viii) Lee Chang Bok: "All my friends will be shocked when they hear that I've been sentenced to 20 years in prison."

(ix) Im Ku Ho: "I feel guilty that I am unable to carry out my filial duty to my mother, who had such a difficult time raising me."

(x) Kim Han Duk: "I do not know why I am here. There is only 1 reason that I can think of, that I drank with Mr. Yuh Jin Kon one day before my arrest."

(B) Lawyers Defense

(i) "According to Mr. Oo Hong Sun, he only had one radio on which the dial was turned to an FM station. This kind of radio is readily available to every family.

"It was a violation of the rules for the court to only use as evidence the indictments and the self-written statements which were made by the investigators, and agreement obtained through torture and threats. Because this cannot prove their guilt, it should be discarded. If Mr. Kim Han Duk and Mr. Chun Chang Il were communists, I would have resigned from the case."

(Lawyer of Kim Jong Kil)

(ii) "In this court, which rejected the suggestions of the witnesses, and which confiscated all evidence, what can I say as a lawyer? I am ashamed to be standing here."

(Mr. Ham Jung Ho, Yuh Jin Kon's lawyer)

VII TRIAL RECORD AND STATEMENTS

(A) Pages 401 - 402, and 409 - 410 relate to Mr. Oo Hong Sun, and Mr. Lee Soo Byung. The indictment of Mr. Lee, the contents of which he denied, is also found on these pages. Although Mr. Lee partly agreed to what was written, he did not agree with it all. In the record, however, it appears as though he is in full agreement. Kim Jong Kil's lawyer, who also represents Mr. Lee, is aware of these alterations.

(B) In the trial report of Mr. Lee Soo Byung, on page 403, the question, "What organization and decision did the defendants make?" is asked. The answer was, "There was no organization and no decision was made about anything." According to the trial record, however, the answer was "We gathered with several friends, to create a united organization similar to the previous FRP; and we decided to conspire against the government. It was also decided to form a 4-member Leader's Group, which was to control all activities." The family members who were present in the court at the time claim that they clearly heard the question and the answer. Regarding the question, "Is it true that the defendants decided to hold weekly meetings of the Leaders Group at 10:00 a.m. every Sunday; and is it true that To Rye Jong and Suh Do Won were elected as leaders?" the answer was, "It is not true.". The trial record, however, says that the answer was, "Yes it is true.". Also, according to the families, some of the questions in the record are different from the actual questions.

These facts remind us that there is a possibility that other trial records have been altered. Therefore, if the related lawyers and the families could check the trial records the differences between the facts and what is recorded in the trial records could be made known to a greater extent. These discrepancies in the trial record make the defendants look most unfavorable.

VIII THE PRESENT SITUATION

(A) The 3-year old son of Ha Jae Won was dragged by his playmates and tied (with a rope around his neck) to a tree. They then proceeded to mock him, pretending to shoot him because his father is a "communist". The women of the town watched while the children did this, but did nothing to stop it.

On another occasion, when he was on a picnic, he escaped at lunch time because the other children were throwing stones at him.

(B) Most of the families are suffering from a lack of food.

The family of Sang Sung Jin is barely managing to survive. What money they have comes from the needle-work that his wife is able to do. Because of insufficient funds, the family cannot easily come to Seoul to the prison.

The situation of the families is extremely serious. When others went in their place to leave money for the detained at the prison the prison officials refused to accept it because these persons were not immediate members of the family. (This a violation of the law)

(C) Since their arrest, no one has been able to see the defendants. (except at their trials, and they could only see them, not speak to them).

(D) The mother of defendant Lee Sang Jae attempted to commit suicide when she realized that her son had been sentenced to death. She was in the hospital for 10 days as a result.

(E) Mrs. Im In Yung; wife of Mr. Chun Chang Il
Mrs. Kang Soon Hee; wife of Mr. Oo Hong Sun
Mrs. Lee Jung Suk; wife of Mr. Lee Soo Byung
Mrs. Bae Soo Ja; wife of Mr. Suh Do Won
Mrs. Shin Dong Suk; wife of Mr. To Rye Jong
Mrs. Lee Young Kyo; wife of Mr. Ha Jae Won
Mrs. Kim Jin Saeng; wife of Mr. Song Sang Jin
Mrs. Yu Seung Ok; wife of Mr. Kim Yong Won
Mrs. Chang Chil Song; wife of Mr. Kim Han Duk
Mrs. Ahn Bo Hyung; wife of Mr. Whang Hyun Seung
Mrs. Chang Shung Hye; wife of Mr. Yu Chin Kon

All these women were arrested by the CIA because of their efforts to save the lives of their husbands. During their 3 - 4 day detainment, they were forced to write a statement which included such things as "I will no longer work to save my husband's life", "My husband is guilty", and "I will no longer attend the Thursday Morning Prayer Meeting".

(F) The CIA committed a physical and spiritual outrage by forcing the wives to sign such a statement; and by administering medicine which caused the women to lose their ability to think or act clearly.

Following her release from the CIA, Mr. Yu Seung Ok, wife of Mr. Kim Yong Won, attempted to commit suicide with rat poisoning because she was ashamed of the statement she had signed. Her mother however, prevented her from taking it, saying that she should die first. It is suspected that the shock of this resulted in the mother's recent death.

IX CONCLUSION

By observing the processes of this case, one comes to the realization that the PRP case is a fabrication created for political purposes. The authorities should make it possible for an investigation of the real facts to take place; or they should give the defendants an open trial. This is the only way to solve this case, and to clear-up the people's doubts.

Lee Chul, who was released from prison on February 17th (1975) and who has been known as a leader of the NLDYS, announced that it is a pure fabrication that the NLDYS movement was controlled by the PRP.

(Dong-A Ilbo; Edition 1; Page 1; February 18th, 1975.)

Will Watch Acts Of Dissidents: Park

KOREA HERALD
SEOUL, FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 21, 1975

Justice Ministry Told to Tighten Law Enforcement

President Park Chung Hee yesterday said that he cannot but take "proper measures to protect the current Constitution if and when 'some people in our society do not desist from acts designed to instigate the people.'"

He emphasized his responsibility as Chief Executive of protecting the basic law. Such measures, if taken, would be in accordance with the authority bestowed on him by the Constitution, the President said.

It is deeply regrettable for the development of the nation's democracy, the Chief Executive said, that some people in the country intend to deny even the Constitution

which was established by the people's consensus through lawful procedures.

President Park said that he will closely watch "for the time being" some people who began to instigate the people to cause social disturbances only a few days after the recent national referendum.

The President issued the warning while visiting the Ministry of Justice where he received briefing from Minister Hwang San-duk on the ministry's policy projects for this year.

"Strict maintenance and enforcement of law," the President said, "are the basis for the development of democratic society."

However, some people in the society are intent upon denying the Constitution despite their clamor for democracy, freedom and the basic rights of the people, Park noted.

Those who deny the basis of order of democracy are not

qualified to talk about democracy, he remarked.

"If and when they do not exercise self-control," Park warned, "I as President cannot but take proper measures because I am responsible for the protection of the Constitution."

National Consensus

The Chief Executive then instructed Minister Hwang to make efforts for further consolidation of the national consensus and unity through strict enforcement of law.

Stressing strenuous efforts to tide over the current economic difficulties, Park directed the minister to thoroughly crack down on those who make excessive profits and destroy economic order by taking advantage of the economic hardship.

The law-abiding spirit among the people should be promoted to bring about social order and security, which are the basis for national security, eco-

nomie development and effective execution of state affairs, the Chief Executive said.

"All the people are equal before the law," Park said. However, it should be generous to the weak, poor and harmless people," he said.

Those people who are in positions to take the lead in abiding by the law should be subject to severe legal penalties when they violate the law, Park said.

Minister of Justice Hwang San-duk yesterday said that his ministry will concentrate its efforts on further cultivating the law-abiding spirit. He made the statement in briefing President Park Chung Hee on his ministry's administrative guideline during the President's inspection tour.

Any violations of and challenges to the Constitution and laws will be punished severely to safeguard the national and social order and peace, the minister reported.

SEOUL, SATURDAY
KOREA HERALD

President Hints Crackdown

FEBRUARY 22, 1975

Agitators Must Stop Cries to Free PRP

Security-Geared Publicity Urged To Alert Citizens

President Park Chung Hee yesterday urged that stern legal measures should be taken against those who continue to instigate the people by falsely asserting that the case of the People's Revolutionary Party (PRP) had been fabricated.

Calling for "security-oriented" public information activities, the Chief Executive instructed Minister of Culture and Information Lee Won-kyung to make efforts, in close

cooperation with pertinent law-enforcement authorities, to widely publicize the real characters of the pro-Communist PRP, Communist-inspired National Democratic Youth-Student League (NDYSL) and crimes committed by those involved in the cases.

President Park made the remarks while visiting the ministry on a leg of his administrative inspection tour to receive briefings on the ministry's policy projects for this year.

Some people in the country, the President noted, hold the misunderstanding that those who attempted to overthrow the government by force are innocent simply because they are not Communists.

In any country in the world, those who cause internal dis-

turbances in a move to overthrow a lawful government are subject to the maximum penalty, Park noted.

Some students, religious men, politicians who were recently released after detention by the authorities on charges of violating the Presidential Emergency Measures assert that they were innocent and the PRP and NDYSL cases were fabricated, Park said.

Furthermore, some news media, sympathizing with them, report about them as if they were "heroes."

At the same time, some people in the country call them "patriots" or "comrades," the President deplored.

"I wonder how such a thing can exist in a country whose national policy is anti-commu-

nism," the Chief Executive said.

"Are they not also Communists who demand the release of the Communists?" he questioned.

It is evident that the PRP manipulated the NDYSL at the direction of Kim Il-sung, boss of the Communist Pyongyang regime, to undermine the Republic of Korea government, Park noted.

In this situation, Park urged, pertinent government authorities should make continuous public information activities to make the people well aware of the real picture of those pro-Communist underground organizations.

Supporters of PRP Will Be Dealt Stern Penalties: Hwang

KOREA HERALD SEOUL, TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 25, 1975

Torture Claims Proven False After Inquiry

Minister of Justice Hwang San-duk yesterday warned that the government will punish severely those who "praise or encourage the persons convicted of their involvement in the outlawed People's Revolutionary Party (PRP)." The party is "one of the antistate organizations prohibited in the Anti-Communist Law," he told reporters.

The government will also

punish sternly those who "spread false rumors in connection with the PRP, and those who demand the release of persons convicted of their affiliation with the PRP conspiracy by calling them patriots or democratic citizens" the minister stated.

"Those irresponsible persons who praise and encourage the convicted will be prosecuted under Article 4 of the Anti-Communist Law," he said.

The PRP was organized by a north Korean agent named Kim Sang-han in January 1962 under an instruction from Kim Il-sung, the north Korean boss, he said. Therefore, the PRP is an antistate organization defined in the Anti-Communist Law, Minister Hwang stressed.

"If persons continue their reckless remarks, they will be

punished in aggravated terms taking into account their previous remarks," he warned.

Groundless Allegations

Concerning the torture the freed offenders of the Presidential decrees claimed they were subjected to during interrogation, he said that "these allegations had been proved groundless."

A convict's claim that the torture he was put to caused a rupture was examined, and it came to light that he had received treatment for hernia before he was arrested," the minister told reporters.

Concerning the allegation that "a student was forced to write 'Long Live Kim Il-sung,' south-north dialogue under the minister Hwang explained, it was necessitated to identify his handwriting in the course

of investigation rather than for the expediency of his indictment." The student was not indicted for violation of the Anti-Communist Law.

Concerning the PRP activities, Minister Hwang elaborated that under the instruction of Kim Il-sung, Kim Sang-han infiltrated into the south in 1961 and organized the underground party in January 1962. The agent went to the north in May 1962 to report on his party's activities, and he was followed by Kim Pae-yong, chief of the financial section of the PRP, in the same year.

The 16 remaining members of the PRP were arrested in 1964, and received mild sentences of three years in prison due to the lack of sufficient evidences caused by the absence of their boss, Kim Sang-han.

In 1967 Kim was arrested after his infiltration into the south, and he was executed in 1972. However, the PRP plot in 1964 was not tried again under the "double jeopardy" principle of not deliberating the same case twice, Minister Hwang said.

The PRP launched its underground subversive activities again taking advantage of the south-north dialogue under the Secul-Pyongyang joint statement of July 4, 1972.

BLUE SUIT

Wish I were a bird,
Water, or else wind.

by Kim Chi Ha

Imprisoning the thin naked body, the suit
Blue! Wish the blue were the sea.
Could the sea gleam even in my brief dream

Sticking in my heart, bleeding painfully,
And then clotting into the square scarlet mark...
But for it--
But for it
I might not decline death;
Perhaps destiny scattered in ashes wouldn't even matter.

In the eyes so anxiously awaiting dawn
On such a dark night
In the clear tears overflowing,
Could the crystal morning-glory dazzle only once,
Could the sun's rays shine.

Vivid blue sky opening
Through the dark clouds in nightly dreams..
Could I stand in spilling sunrays a moment.
It may be I would willingly die imprisoned in the blue suit.
Were it real,
Were it present,
Were it not to be hidden
For ever and ever.



by Kim Chi Ha

from RONIN, Vol. 1, No. 2 (February 1972)

Dialogue in the Prison Yard : Kim Chi Ha & Ha Chae Wan

Excerpt from Kim Chi Ha's "Penance," which got him another prison term. Originally appeared in Dong-a Ilbo, Feb. 25.

It happened one depressing day while I was in prison. Outside a light rain fell from leaden skies. A choked, gasping voice called to me. I went to the urinal can in the corner of the cell and scrunched up against the window. I called back, "Who are you?" "Ha Chae Wan," came the reply in a thick Kyongsang accent. "I don't know anyone named Ha Chae Wan. Who are you?" "Of the Peoples Revolutionary Party." "Oh, yes... Tell me, was there really a PRP group?" "No, the government dreamed it all up." Then on what basis are they holding you in prison?" "The interrogation. They kept at me until I 'confessed'." "Was the torture bad?" "Terrible, brutal. They ruptured my intestines... I couldn't stand it. They admitted they were trumping up the whole case. The KCIA said to me, 'We know this is rough on you, but it's a political problem so just try to stand it for a while.'"

Later, in July, Kim met Ha in the prison yard when all inmates were assembled for the periodic medical examination. A man in the next row touched Kim's shoulder and identified himself as Ha Chae Wan. With lowered voices and watching the guards, the two men were able to talk briefly. It was long enough for Kim to hear the same story of Ha's torture and the fabrication of the PRP case.

...Kim Chi Ha's revelations that Ha was tortured to "confess" the existence of the PRP discredits the prosecution's entire case. Kim also wrote that Yi Kang Ch'ol, a student from Kyongbuk University, testified in court that he was repeatedly subjected to "electric torture" in the presence of a prosecutor to force him to confess his role in the PRP. Except for these "admissions," the government presented virtually no evidence against the defendants. Kim's article thus corroborated the independent research of Ogle and others.

These few excerpts from Kim Chi Ha's bold and gripping prison encounter with Ha Chae Wan indict the Park regime, its police, prosecutors and KCIA. Kim wrote nothing about communism or north Korea. The article is strictly an expose of the Park system of "justice" and the use of the "threat from the North" to silence dissent and keep Park in power. The government cannot refute Kim's article and experience; the facts printed in the Tonga Ilbo have not been challenged. Instead, the KCIA has charged that Kim "helped" north Korea. Once again, the ad hominem political crime — "communism" — is pressed against an individual whose only offense was to speak the truth against a miscarriage of justice.

Amnesty Int'l Protests

ROK Poet Kim's Arrest

JAPAN TIMES 3/16/75

LONDON (Kyodo-Reuters) — The London-based civil rights movement Amnesty International Friday cabled South Korean President Park Chung-Hee with a protest against the arrest of dissident poet Kim Chi Ha.

Kim was arrested Thursday, one month after he was released from prison under a Government clemency order.

The protest from Amnesty International's secretary gen-

eral Martin Ennals said the organization was "saddened and shocked" by the rearrest of Kim and it urged his immediate release.

A spokesman for Amnesty said that his organization would readopt Kim if he was again put in prison. The organization first adopted him in 1972. The poet has spent much of the past 13 years in jail, Friday's statement said.

Formally Arrested

SEOUL (AP) — Dissident poet Kim Chi Ha, political prisoner until Feb. 15 when he was freed, was again under formal arrest Friday on charges of violating South Korea's Anti-Communist Law.

The arrest followed interrogations at the Korean Central Intelligence Agency (KCIA) and a police station since Thursday when he was picked up by police.

Authorities said that the internationally-known poet and critic of President Park Chung Hee's Government was arrested in connection with an

article he contributed to the newspaper Dong-A Ilbo late last month.

He claimed in the article that an anti-Government plot involving the so-called People's Revolutionary Party had been fabricated by the Government.

Some members of the party are now serving prison terms for involvement in the alleged Communist-inspired student plot to overthrow the Government.

Kim had been serving a life term for helping the student plot until his release last month.



Kim Chi-ha in his hospital/prison at Masan.

Torture allegations guarantee dissent

MARCH 21, 1975

By A Correspondent

Seoul: With South Korea's universities preparing to re-open and President Park Chung Hee's scheme for a pan-national political system as ephemeral as the consensus he said was achieved by last month's referendum, it appears that the present turmoil is likely to continue.

Since 1963, when Park became President, there has hardly been a year free of campus demonstrations. This year will be no exception. The reason lies mainly in the release from prison of 100 students, whose stories of torture by the Korean Central Intelligence Agency appeared to have shattered any prospects of reconciliation. The students were arrested early last year and, since their release, have been barred from re-enrolling at their former universities.

By denying student charges that confessions were obtained through torture, Justice Minister Hwang San Duk, formerly one of Park's harshest critics, only worsened the prevailing lack of respect for legal authority.

Education Minister Yoo Kee Chun has ordered all 16 universities involved to determine case by case if the students concerned are "fully repentant for their wrongdoings" before recommending admission. He also said he would consult Hwang on the possibility of granting amnesty to any student deserving it.

However, three private university presidents dispute this. They are committed to an open-door policy despite a written warning from Yoo that there will be stiff penalties, possibly closure, for such actions.

In a sense, the students were only symbolic of a far larger problem stemming mostly from Park's political miscalculations since he declared martial law in October 1972. Even before then, and certainly now, the basic problem he has tried to solve by political means is largely rooted in the economy. As revealed by recent statistics, the gap between the average farm family's living expenses and incomes last year was 9%, despite an increase of 32.6% in rural family income. There is also a gap between the urban living costs and workers' incomes.

When the country's guilt-ridden intellectuals and Christian clergymen went

beyond their normal discontent over the curtailment of personal liberties to attack Park's economic policies, their moves resulted in last spring's crack-down. Park was thus exacerbated into a political fight over what was essentially a host of economic inequalities.

The opposition then, as now, focused on the Yushin Constitution, mostly because it provided no limit to the number of times Park could run for re-election and guaranteed a rubber-stamp National Assembly.

Neither the recent referendum, nor his appeal for unity in the face of a communist threat to overthrow him from within or by invasion, have silenced demands for the amendment of the revitalising reforms constitution. Thus, Park has broached the idea of a pan-national political system, or a supreme national council, without yet being specific as to its composition.

The details of the new body, according to a source, are totally unknown, even by the highest level policy-makers of his own National Democratic Republican Party.

There have been rumours in the press since January that Park has also been looking for a replacement for one of his oldest allies, Prime Minister Kim Jong Pil. It is believed the most favoured candidate is Kim Sang Hyui, President of the prestigious Korea University and a man closely linked to the liberal academics whom Park wants to co-opt.

The pulpit protests gather momentum

By Roy Whang

Seoul: Fuelled by recent Government action, the Roman Catholic Priests' Corps for the Realisation of Justice, a nationwide body of 400 Korean priests, held a two-hour mass last week. It was the first after a hiatus of more than a month since the mid-February release from prison of Bishop Tji Hak Soun and Catholic poet Kim Ji Ha. The contents of the priests' message dashed any hopes the Government may have been entertaining about a return to religious normalcy by the church.

The priests had two new and equally volatile issues to complain about in addition to their often-repeated demands for the abolition of the "evil Yushin Constitution" and the restoration of a free press.

The first was last week's hasty revision of the criminal codes providing up to seven years' jail for any Korean citizen abroad who "slanders, insults or spreads distorted or false facts" about the Government and its constitutionally-created organs. Statements which may "harm the security, national interest or dignity" are thus "taboo" for Korean emigrants while Koreans are banned from making similar statements for use by foreigners or foreign organisations here.

The intent of the law was not missed by the priests, nor by the Rev. Kang Won Yong, a noted Protestant critic who had lashed the new law at a Protestant prayer meeting the day before. "It's aimed at us," meaning the Christian churches, was the common conclusion, with the priests lamenting that foreign reporters would also be severely restricted from now on. The Rev. Kang hinted that there was a striking similarity between the intent of the new law and restrictions on free speech in the Soviet Union and China.

Although labelled "unusual" by one Korean newspaper, there was nothing unusual about the method used to pass the law in the National Assembly in the light of previous actions. The opposition New Democratic Party (NDP) led a two-day fight to prevent the passage of the Bill by physically occupying the Speaker's rostrum in the main assembly hall. At the close of the last day of the stormy 10-day session, pro-Government assemblymen were thus "forced," they later said, to gather in an ante-room where they passed the new law and 21 other bills in less than a minute.

The NDP denounced the law as "null and void" following a reporter's claim that only 80 assemblymen had voted on it, far less than the necessary simple majority. Democratic Republican Party sources insisted there were 112 votes, just enough to do the job.

The second new issue brought up by the priests' corps was the re-arrest of Kim Ji Ha. He has been turned over to the courts by the Korean Central Intelligence Agency for prosecution under South Korea's stiff anti-communist laws. Charges centred on three articles he wrote for the *Dong-A Ilbo* newspaper shortly after his release from prison last month. He wrote he had talked with an alleged member of the so-called People's Revolutionary Party (PRP) while in prison. The Government, he said, then rebutted charges that the 22 PRP prisoners were communists behind last year's opposition student movement, sufficient evidence that Kim was a communist. The priests demanded clarification on both the PRP and Kim's cases.

For much of the week, striking reporters from both of the country's oldest newspapers met with Christian and student supporters to forge stronger bonds in what has become a common struggle.

Last month, the 18-member Catholic Bishops' Council reaffirmed the role of the church as an agency for human rights and justice. A qualification that the church would stay out of politics *per se* was regarded as a retreat by some progressive priests, but that has been church policy all along. In matters of individual conscience, the church makes no such limit anyway. More important, shortly after the new "gag law" was passed, 300 Protestant ministers formed a group similar in objectives to the priests' corps.

APRIL 4, 1975

Sounds of anguish in Park's courtroom

By Roy Whang

Seoul: A day after their appeal against conviction was turned down by South Korea's Supreme Court, eight men who allegedly plotted against President Park Chung Hee's Government were hanged in a Seoul prison. Among the eight was the man accused of being the leader of the outlawed People's Revolutionary Party (PRP), 50-year-old Toh Ye Jong.

Thirty others convicted by courts martial of violating the 1974 presidential emergency decrees — since repealed — also had their sentences upheld by the Supreme Court. Their sentences ranged from life imprisonment to 12 years.

After Chief Justice Min Pok Ki, flanked by 12 Supreme Court judges, had announced the court's decision, all the judges stood up and, as if on a signal, left the courtroom, neither pausing nor looking back as the wives of two of the condemned leapt to their feet screaming for them to listen to one last anguished plea. South Korean newsmen were hustled out by officials, leaving only the 18 wives and mothers, who had managed to enter the courtroom, and five American missionaries. No lawyers had been present.

Within minutes, the women were wailing loudly, three or four completely hysterical with grief and frustration, uncontrollably banging benches with their umbrellas or prostrating themselves in writhing frenzy.

The pandemonium continued for more than an hour as months of pent-up grief burst out. American Maryknoll priest James Sinnott, assistant vicar of the Incheon diocese, kept up a steady stream of denunciation, likening the procedure to that of Hitler's Germany: "A total travesty of justice; no better than communist courts." And court officials who came in to urge the women to leave were met by new outbreaks of frenzied anger.

After more than two hours, a decision was taken to remain in the courtroom until an evening mass at the main Catholic cathedral. A group of plain-clothes police then entered and began forcing the women out, while Sinnott pushed several of the police onto benches, shouting: "Don't you dare touch any women." Several women kicked and struggled, but all were hustled out within minutes, leaving three American missionaries sitting in the doorway refusing to budge. They were eventually carried out of the back door, the women having been driven away in a van minutes before.

Included in the 38 were 11 former

students. One of them, Yo Jung Nam, was the putative link between the PRP and their alleged student followers, who wanted to topple the Park regime in April 1974 in order to set up a pro-Soviet government of workers and peasants, the Government claimed.

Yo received the death penalty, six PRP members and three Seoul National University students life, and seven other students 12 to 20 years. Two students, originally sentenced to 15-year terms, had the chance of another trial. The 38 were among 51 pending appeals before the Supreme Court. The remaining 13 cases will be heard later this month; they include those of former president Yun Po Sun, Catholic bishop Chi Hak Soun, Professor Kim Chan Kook and lawyer Kang Shin Ok.

These were the only appeals filed last year out of 203 convictions handed down by special courts martial ordered into kangaroo court sessions by Park's emergency decrees. Some 150 people, including two women students, were released from jail in mid-February, shortly after Park won approval for his heavy-handed policies in a national referendum. All those released remain guilty as charged and may be re-arrested at any time. Poet Kim Chi Ha has already been reindicted. He was charged at the beginning of the month with violating the anti-communist law (REVIEW, Apr. 4).

The Government has persistently denied allegations that torture was used to extract confessions. Two members of Amnesty International, lawyer Brian Roble from London and Dr Karl Pederson from Denmark, arrived in Seoul late last month to investigate the charges. They asked in vain for interviews with authorities to hear their denials. A Korean Central Intelligence Agency (KCIA) man reportedly sat on watch in the open doorway of a hotel room across from theirs and in one instance even jumped into a taxi to accompany them.

American Representative Donald Fraser, chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Sub-committee for International Organizations and Movements, was also in Seoul for three days to interview students and former politicians who had claimed they were tortured. President Park apparently refused to see him on the grounds that his visit was "an affront to the national dignity." But Fraser did meet Premier Kim Jong Pil, Assembly Speaker Chung Il Kwon, leading members of the opposition New Democratic Party (NDP) and other critics of Park. Special preparations were made to prevent Fraser from interviewing allegedly tortured students and 13 former opposition party members.

Fraser went to the heavily-guarded house of former one-star general Lee Se Kyu, reputedly the most honest general in the army before his retirement in the

early 1960s. Yi is said to have told Fraser he had been detained shortly after martial law was declared in October 1972 and "totally humiliated" by being trussed up naked like a pig and beaten with rods. He had been a vociferous critic of the Park regime.

On the day of his departure, Fraser told reporters here he would be returning to Washington "still deeply concerned about the problem of human rights." Missionaries who accompanied him on his rounds said he was particularly angry about reports that Prime Minister Kim had told the National Assembly the Government had received all the military aid funds authorized by Congress for this fiscal year.

It was due to Fraser and his colleagues insistence that US\$20 million of a \$165 million military appropriation was withheld until US President Gerald Ford was satisfied that progress had been made here in restoring democratic rights. Fraser privately denied that this condition had been met and from all indications it seemed very unlikely he would report otherwise upon his return.

Before and during Fraser's visit, four men were arrested on various charges, apparently because they had met or planned to meet the Congressman. Apart from attorney Han Sung Hon's arrest (REVIEW, Apr. 11), former *Dong-A Ilbo* reporter Lee Boo Yong, National Council of Churches General Secretary Kim Kwan Suk and Protestant minister Park Hyung Kyu were held, the latter two on charges of misusing German funds intended for urban community projects. The case is seen as an attempt to silence critics in the Protestant Church.

With the police on nationwide alert for the entire month, it appears that the foreseeable future will be anything but tranquil. April 19 is the 15th anniversary of the student revolution which led to the downfall of President Syngman Rhee. Two of the country's leading universities, Seoul National and Yonsei, have already had to suspend classes following student rallies and rock-throwing demonstrations demanding constitutional reforms.

fascism (fash'iz'm), n. [It. *fascismo* < *fascio*, political group] organization, club < L. *fascis*: see *fascist*, 1. [RP], the doctrines, methods, or movement of the fascists. 2. [sometimes F-1], a system of government characterized by rigid one-party dictatorship, forcible suppression of the opposition (unions, other, especially leftist, parties, minority groups, etc.), the retention of private ownership of the means of production under centralized governmental control, belligerent nationalism and racism, glorification of war, etc.; first instituted in Italy in 1922. 3. a) the political philosophy and movement based on such doctrines and policies. b) fascist behavior. See also *Nazism*.

Does the dictatorship of Park Chung Hee qualify? Why is the U.S.A. supporting him?

8 Hanged in Seoul On Anti-Gov't Raps

SEOUL (UPI) — Eight alleged leftists condemned for seeking to overthrow the Government through violent student demonstrations calmly faced their death penalty Wednesday less than 24 hours after their verdicts were upheld by the Supreme Court.

The Justice Ministry said the eight, alleged members of a leftist organization called the People's Revolution Party, were hanged at the Seoul Prison at 8 a.m. Six officials witnessed the hanging, the ministry said.

Doh Ye Jong, 50, ringleader of the group, was quoted by officials as saying in his last words, "I hope the country will be reunified under communism."

As soon as the news of their hanging broke, a dozen angry family members rushed to the prison, and wept and shouted at the entrance. Scores of police were posted at the main prison gate, and visits with prisoners were canceled.

The group included Shu Do Won, 52, Doh Ye Jong, 50, Lee Ju Byong, 37, Kim Yong Won, 39, Wo Hong Sun, 45, Song Sang Jin, 46, Hah Je Wan, 43, and Yuh Jong Nam, 30.

They were arrested in April last year under a special decree issued by President Park Chung Hee outlawing all anti-Government student activities on and off campus. The group, authorities charged, tried to bring down Park's Government by organizing violent student demonstrations and set up a Communist regime.

Arrested along with them were 195 persons, most of them college youths, who organized or supported an allegedly underground organization called the "National Democratic Student League." All have been convicted but most have been released under a presidential order.

Their case has caused a controversy with their families and sympathizers who

contended that they were made scapegoats to put down student dissidents and help Park's Government hanging on to power.

The group was sentenced to death by a military court in April last year under Park's decree. The death verdicts were upheld by the appeals court and then by the Supreme Court.

When the highest court finalized their death penalty Tuesday, about 20 family members and several foreign missionaries jumped to their feet and shouted, "fabrication! Fabrication!"

Some of their friends had demanded a retrial on the ground that the first and appeals court hearings were not open to the public. Authorities have said their trials were open to their families and they were convicted on irrefutable evidence.

The Japan Times
April 10, 1975

Death of ROK 8 Rapped by Amnesty Int'l

LONDON (Kyodo-Reuter) — Amnesty International has protested to South Korea against the execution of eight members of the outlawed People's Revolutionary Party.

The eight, convicted by a military court for instigating a student plot to topple the government, had their sentences upheld by the Supreme Court Wednesday.

The London based civil rights organization said in a statement: "The Government of South Korea is aware that the evidence presented publicly against the eight men has been judged to be questionable by independent observers and has been vigorously challenged in South Korea and internationally."

"The haste with which the men have been executed is particularly regrettable because, under Korean law, a stay of execution could have been effected by appeal for clemency or for retrial and not the slightest opportunity was permitted for the men to appeal or ask for a retrial," Amnesty alleged.

ROK Gov't Orders Another School Shut

SEOUL (UPI) — The Government ordered classes suspended from Thursday at a Seoul college while two women's universities and another college voluntarily closed down to prevent further anti-Government student actions.

Authorities reimprisoned 12 persons including eight students, following the Supreme Court's ruling Tuesday upholding their prison terms for dissident activities. They had been out of prison since mid-February.

Police arrested two more Christian clergymen for allegedly misusing church funds. They had been active in opposing the Government.

The Education Ministry ordered Hankuk (Korea) Theological College Wednesday night to suspend classes from Thursday. The Methodist Theological College and Ewha and Sukmyong women's universities voluntarily closed down to restore campus order.

The schools had been scenes of a series of violent anti-Government rallies and demon-

strations for constitutional amendments restoring full democracy.

Despite the moves, 2,700 students from three universities staged more actions Thursday to press similar demands.

Nine schools in Seoul now remained closed. They included Korea University where some 400 Army troops took up posts following Tuesday's presidential decree temporarily shutting off the campus.

The 12 reimprisoned were among the 203 arrested and convicted last year for allegedly plotting to overthrow the Government. They were released under a special presidential order issued Feb. 15.

Their cases had been pending before the Supreme Court which ruled on them Tuesday.

Official sources said their cases now will be reviewed to decide if their sentences should be suspended.

The two Christian ministers — Kim Kwan Suk, 56, and Kwon Ho Kyong, 36 — were arrested for allegedly divert-

The Japan Times
April 11, 1975

ing church funds to help the families of many imprisoned political dissidents.

Two other opposition-minded Christian ministers also were arrested earlier on similar charges.

A group of 40 leading Christian clergymen held a meeting Thursday and charged the Government with interfering in church affairs supported by contributions from church members.



U.S. MISSIONARIES PROTEST HANGING IN SEOUL

ROK Christians Brace Against Gov't Attack

South Korea's 4 million Christians are deeply fearful that the Park Chung Hee regime is now mounting a full-scale attack on the churches.

The religious repression follows the strangulation of South Korea's free press in March, and the execution of eight alleged "Communists" and the closing of most college campuses in early April.

By mid-April seven Protestant leaders, including the general secretary of the Korean National Council of Churches (KNCC), the Rev. Kim Kwan Suk, were behind bars. The Government crackdown, which church people fear has only begun, has grave implications for both freedom of religion at home and ecumenical cooperation overseas.

The crackdown began April 2 when the Seoul District Criminal Court issued a warrant for search and seizure of KNCC documents regarding mission funds from the Bread For the World agency in Stuttgart. Two days later, Rev. Kim was abducted by police and taken to a locked room in Seoul's Grand Hotel. He was held incommunicado, unable to see even a lawyer, for more than a week. At the same time, three pastors and the KNCC treasurer were detained without arrest warrants.

Two of the pastors were charged April 7 with "embezzling" and "misappropriating" the mission funds. Rev. Kim and the third pastor were imprisoned on the same charge two days later.

Later that same week, three more Protestant leaders including Dr. Moon Tong Whan, professor at Hankuk Theological Seminary, were detained by police following the weekly Thursday Morning Prayer Meeting in Seoul's Christian Building.

Dr. Moon preached at the prayer meeting which both mourned and protested the Governments hanging of eight men at Seoul's West Gate Prison on April 9. Dr. Moon is one of thousands of Korean Christians who continue to believe that the accused "Communists" were framed-up and totally denied fair trials. The Christians feel that



By Roy Whang
Father James Sinnott is shown being carried out of West Gate Prison in Seoul while protesting executions carried out on April 9.

the Government made up and used the "Communist plot" last year in order for Park to justify mass arrests of students and Christians and to rationalize his strong-arm rule.

Dr. Moon, a leader in the human rights movement, was also being considered to head the National Council for the Restoration of Democracy (NCRD) when he was taken in. The NCRD, a broad-based people's movement with considerable Christian participation, is considered a "threat" by the Park regime.

Reliable Government sources say President Park is considering a new law which would ban opposition political discussion as well as action for all except professional politicians. Given the current level of Government control over the press and the campuses, the law would be aimed primarily at the Christian churches and at nonpoliticians within the NCRD.

by the donor for community-organization work in the slums of Seoul. The Government opposes such mission and says that the funds should have been used for charity purposes only.

The arrests indicate that the Government is now prepared to enforce its own definition of legitimate mission work. Observers say this could lead to a policy of Government inspection and restriction of overseas church aid except to openly pro-Government churches and projects.

The churches also understood that conflicting opinions among churches on how mission funds should be used were internal church matters and not matters of the state.

One Korean evangelical center last year complained that the KNCC should have given it up to 25 per cent of a \$47,000, three-year grant from Bread For the World. A special committee of the KNCC studied the complaint for two months last fall and rejected it. Many church leaders now suspect that the Korean CIA is using a pastor from the center in bringing the current charges against the KNCC.

The church leaders also suspect that the Government may be using the "embezzlement" charges simply to test the unity and strength of the churches' response, and that the Government's real intention is to slap "Communist" charges on the KNCC, its six member denominations and other socially concerned church bodies.

The grounds for such charges would be that the church bodies, and indeed most Korean Christians, publicly lent considerable moral and spiritual support to the political prisoners, including the alleged "Communists," in the past year.

It is also an open secret that many Christians individually contributed to family support and to legal defense costs of all prisoners who needed it, non-Christian and Christian alike. This greatly irked the authorities, and the rumor now is that the Government wants to exact its price. (Japan Christian Activity News).

Since the recent pattern of arrests is aimed at top church officials, leadership vacuums are threatening to temporarily immobilize some church bodies. Still, the KNCC, Korean Church Women United, national groups of Protestant Ministers and Catholic Priests for Social Justice, and other bodies quickly responded in strongly protesting the arrests.

The clerics called the actions "an affront to the whole church" and demanded that "this base policy of repression of the Church by the Government be halted immediately."

The "embezzling and misappropriating funds" charges, if carried through, would represent gross interference in mission matters by the state. Until now, the churches have understood that they could devise and carry out their own theologies of urban mission, even if it displeased the dictatorship.

All of the Bread For the World funds were approved

In Japan ¥900. US \$3.00 elsewhere. (50¢ covers cost, remaining \$2.50 for support PRF families.)



"Our husbands are dead and gone Nothing will bring them back of course, but it is better now, the torture at last is done with, they are at peace.... And maybe their deaths were not for nothing. They have shown all Korea and all the world what brutality now rules our land."



Photos upper left & lower right: Roy Whang

